Razvoj pravoslavlja u Hrvatskoj i Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve

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Dana 4. travnja 1942., gotovo godinu dana nakon osnutka Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, novine su objavile vladin statut br. XC-800-Z-1942 kojim je objavljeno osnivanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve. Dana 5. lipnja na temelju toga statuta odobren je ustav Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, a 7. lipnja visokopreosvećeni Germogen ustoličen je za prvog pravoslavnog mitropolita zagrebačkog. Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva djelovala je u Hrvatskoj do kraja rata kada ju je ugušila nova jugoslavenska vlast, a mitropolit Germogen pogubljen. Aktivno sam sudjelovao u osnivanju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, pisanju crkvenog ustava, pregovorima s hrvatskim vlastima i bio tajnik mitropolita Germogena.

Došlo je vrijeme da se mirno i objektivno kaže istina o nastanku Crkve i funkciji koju je Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva obnašala tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj. Za bolje razumijevanje nastanka ove autokefalne Crkve potreban je kratki povijesni pregled razvoja pravoslavlja na hrvatskim prostorima (današnje jugoslavenske republike Hrvatska i Bosna i Hercegovina).

RAZVOJ PRAVOSLAVLJA KOD HRVATA

PRIJE TURSKOG OSVAJANJA Prije konačnog raskola s Rimom 1054. stari carigradski patrijarhat nije se protezao na zemlje koje su naselili Hrvati, osim nekih dijelova Diokleje: područja zapadno od rijeke Drine i zapadno od grada Budve bila su izvan istočne Patrijaršija. I u vrijeme Focijeva raskola (863.-923.), kad je splitski metropolit gledao prema istoku, ipak je ostao izvan jurisdikcije Carigrada, ali je bio podređen Akvilejskom patrijarhatu. Situacija se nije promijenila ni kada su Bugari stvorili patrijarhat u Ohridu (927.-1018.), niti je na to utjecao raskol kršćanstva 1054. na Zapadnu ili Rimokatoličku crkvu i Istočnu ili Pravoslavnu crkvu.

Prvi prodor pravoslavlja na hrvatske prostore dogodio se početkom 13. stoljeća nakon osvajanja Crvene Hrvatske (Diokleja ili Zeta, Travunja i Zahumlje) [1]Stevana Nemanje, velikog župana Raške (Srbije), i njegovog sina Stevana, već krunisanog kralja Srbije. Godine 1219. Sava Nemanjić utemeljio je Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu i uspostavio dva biskupska sjedišta (Ston i Prevlaka/Kotor) na hrvatskom katoličkom teritoriju. Stonski je bio kratkog vijeka zbog nedostatka pravoslavnog stanovništva na tom području, dok je drugi opstao do 1485. godine, kada je prenesen na Cetinje u današnjoj Crnoj Gori. U međuvremenu je

Srpska pravoslavna crkva na području današnje Istočne Hercegovine i Crne Gore, uz potporu srpske države, uz sporadične pritiske, uključujući i prisilna pokrštavanja, uspjela ograničiti katoličanstvo na uzak pojas uz obalu. Za vrijeme turske dominacije na ovim prostorima proces prelaska na pravoslavnu vjeru rezultirao je nestankom rimokatolicizma iz Crne Gore oko 1650. godine, a hrvatsko katoličko stanovništvo u primorju svedeno na male džepove oko grada Kotora. Katoličanstvo je opstalo duž Dubrovačke obale, zaštićeno granicama Dubrovačke Republike. Među Hrvatima u Bosni (zapadno od Drine i Neretve) iu Srijemu (sjeverno od Save) nije bilo pravoslavlja prije turske invazije.

RAZDOBLJE TURSKE VLADAVINE S napredovanjem Turaka, prvi Vlasi (nomadski stočari porijeklom iz područja zvanog Stari Vlah istočno od rijeke Drine) pojavljuju se na području istočne Bosne. Potomci starog romanskog stanovništva s Balkanskog poluotoka, bili su pravoslavci (za razliku od hrvatskih Vlaha katolika u dinarsko-velebitskom području) i bili su poznati u raznim krajevima iu različita vremena kao Arumunji, Cincari, Riščani, Rkaci i Istočni Grci. Brzim padom Bosanskog kraljevstva 1463. godine i napredovanjem Turaka u Hrvatsku, Turci su na novoosvojena područja doveli neregularne vojne postrojbe Vlaha, zvane Martholosen. Došli su i naseliti se i obrađivati zemlju u središnjoj Hrvatskoj koja je zbog stalnih borbi opustjela. Ovi pravoslavni doseljenici bili su pretežno vlaški stočari, djelomično slavenizirani, a dolazili su iz središnjih balkanskih područja: Grčke, Makedonije, Bugarske, Srbije, Albanije, Crne Gore i Istočne Hercegovine. Snažna migracijska kretanja Vlaha zahvatila su i brojne druge narodnosti: Crnogorce, Srbe (Rašane), Makedonce, Albance, Bugare, Grke, ali i Hrvate (Uskoke, Prebjezi, Bunjevce, Predavce). Govor Vlaha, osim vlaško-rumunskog, bio je pretežno ijekavsko-novoštokavski [2] dijalekt, što zbog njihovog postupnog kretanja prema zapadu kroz ijekavske krajeve, što zbog dugotrajnog boravka na ijekavskim prostorima Istočne Hercegovine, Crne Gore i Sandžaka.

Pravoslavna crkva slijedila je selidbeno stanovništvo. Nastaju prvi samostani, neki od njih izgrađeni na ruševinama napuštenih franjevačkih samostana. Tijekom 16. i 17. stoljeća na teritoriju pod turskom vlašću osnovana su 3 srpska pravoslavna samostana u Hercegovini, 8 u Bosni, 9 u istočnoj Hrvatskoj (2 u Slavoniji, 7 u Srijemu), 3 u južnoj Hrvatskoj (Dalmacija) i 4 u Bosanskoj krajini. [3] U Banskoj, odnosno kršćanskoj Hrvatskoj [4] , osnovana su 2 samostana. Godine 1502. osnovana je prva mitropolija u samostanu Krušedolu u Srijemu, na području Hrvatske. U Srijemu su pravoslavni doseljenici bili pretežno Srbi koji su govorili ekavski, dok su u ostalim hrvatskim krajevima, osobito u krajevima koji graniče s područjima pod turskom kontrolom, među doseljenicima prevladavali Vlasi koji su govorili ijekavski.

Nakon obnove srpske patrijaršije u Peći 1557. godine, uspjela je pod svoju jurisdikciju dovesti većinu pravoslavnog svećenstva, uključujući i grčko-vlaško (fanariotsko) svećenstvo koje je bilo raspršeno po onim krajevima Hrvatske i južne Ugarske koje su osvojili Turci. Makarije, prvi patrijarh obnovljene Pećke patrijaršije, utemeljio je u Orahovici biskupsko sjedište za tursku Slavoniju i dabrobosansko sjedište za ostatak Hrvatske – Bosne pod turskom vlašću. Slijedi razdoblje bliske suradnje s Turcima (1557.-1690.) i za to vrijeme Pećka patrijaršija se razvila u jaku teokratsku i feudalnu silu, neku vrstu autonomne vlasti unutar Osmanskog carstva. Situaciju su iskoristili pećki patrijarsi, poduzimajući intenzivne kampanje za preobraćanje Hrvata katolika na pravoslavlje, a istodobno su vršili pritisak na

katoličko svećenstvo da plaća pomen srpsko-pravoslavnoj hijerarhiji. Prelazak na pravoslavlje u to se vrijeme poticao zbog ratova koji su se vodili između Osmanskog Carstva i europskih katoličkih sila, a koji su rezultirali progonima katolika, smatranih najnepouzdanijim elementom pod osmanskom vlašću. Mnogi preostali džepovi katolicizma prevedeni su u to vrijeme na pravoslavlje na području Turske Hrvatske (Bosanska krajina i Sjeverna Dalmacija) i u dubrovačkom zaleđu, osim ako već nisu primili islam. Mnogi su katolici dobrovoljno prešli na pravoslavlje zbog nedostatka katoličkog svećenstva, jer franjevci, jedini katolički svećenici ili redovnici koje su osmanski vladari čak i djelomično tolerirali, nisu mogli zadovoljiti vjerske potrebe Hrvata katolika.
Nakon što se sredinom 16. stoljeća kršćansko-islamska bojna linija učvrstila ispred grada Senja i u pojasevima Kupe-Une i Čazme-Ilove u Hrvatskoj, granična crta ostala je nepromijenjena gotovo 150 godina, sve do kraja 1699. Za to vrijeme (osobito između 1597. i 1605.) brojni Uskoci i Prebjezi, među njima i broj pravoslavnog stanovništva, prešao na područje kršćanske Hrvatske. Godine 1595., po prethodnom dogovoru s nadvojvodom Ferdinandom, vlaški episkop Vasilije preselio se s hrvatskog teritorija pod Turcima (Orahovica) i osnovao prvo pravoslavno episkopsko sjedište na hrvatsko-slavonskom području. Njegov nasljednik Simun Vratanja sklopio je 1611. uniju s Katoličkom crkvom hrvatskog kršćanskog područja priznavši zagrebačkog biskupa. Ova unijatska episkopija poznata kao Svidničko-Marčanski imala je oko 60.000 pristaša grčko-slavenskog obreda. (Njezini biskupi su: Predojević, Stanislavić, Kordić, Mijakirc Zorčić itd.). U isto vrijeme osnovana su još dva pravoslavna episkopska sjedišta na hrvatskom teritoriju pod turskom kontrolom (Medak i Savina), a dva episkopska sjedišta prenijela su svoja sjedišta na područje Bosne (Zvornik i Sarajevo, 1709. godine).
ULOGA KARLOVAČKE METROPOLIJE Nakon ratova krajem 17. stoljeća Turci su protjerani s dijela hrvatskog teritorija (Slavonije, Like, Banije i velikog dijela Dalmatinske zagore), ali i iz Ugarske i sjeverne Srbije. Ti su ratovi uzrokovali još dva važna migracijska kretanja pravoslavnog stanovništva; na čelu s pećkim patrijarsima Arsenijem Crnojevićem 1690. s 37.000 srpskih obitelji; i Arsenije Joanović Sakabenta 1737. Ove dvije seobe uslijedile su nakon ratova između Austrije i Turske i bile su rezultat pobune i povlačenja pravoslavnog stanovništva iz pobunjenih krajeva, a bile su usmjerene prema južnoj Ugarskoj (Bačka i Banat) i istočnoj Hrvatskoj (Srijem). Za razliku od ranijih, pretežno vlaških seoba, koje su se kretale prema zapadu i govorile ili vlaškim ili ijekavskim novoštokavskim dijalektom, ove nove sjeverne seobe sastojale su se uglavnom od Srba koji su govorili ekavskim dijalektom.
Uslijed tih seoba i zbog granice koja ih je u to vrijeme dijelila od njihovih sugrađana Srba pod turskom vlašću, oslabile su veze između srijemske mitropolije i Pećke patrijaršije. Patrijaršija je postupno gubila svoj srpski karakter, a kasnije je raspuštena (1766.), a njezino područje vraćeno je pod jurisdikciju Carigradske patrijaršije. Od tog vremena gotovo svi imenovani biskupi bili su fanarioti.
Godine 1690. austrijski car Leopold priznao je vrhovništvo u vjerskim pitanjima Arsenija Crnojevića, ne samo nad novopridošlim pravoslavnim stanovništvom koje je on vodio, nego i nad onim kršćanima grčko-slavenskog obreda koji su prije više od jednog stoljeća prešli u

kršćanski dio Hrvatske i formirali istočnokatoličku Svidničko-marčansku biskupiju. Time je u prvoj polovici 18. stoljeća započelo suparništvo između hrvatsko-vlaških pobornika crkvenog jedinstva (unijata) i srijemske pravoslavne mitropolije za jurisdikciju nad narodom grčko-slavenskog obreda na području Hrvatske. U borbi su protivnici jedinstva uspjeli ne samo ugušiti pokušaje grkokatoličkih biskupa da postignu uniju u dijelovima oslobođenim od Turaka (Slavonija i Srijem), nego i ovladati stanovništvom istočnog obreda u Istočnoj Lici, Kordunu i Baniji, koje je ranije bilo privrženo uniji. U isto vrijeme srpska mitropolija u Srijemu započela je svoju organizaciju pravoslavne crkve, ne samo za srpsko stanovništvo u Srijemu i Južnoj Ugarskoj (Vojvodini), nego i među pravoslavnim Vlasima i Hrvatima u ostaloj Hrvatskoj. U Karlovcu je osnovana biskupska stolica, ali je ubrzo podijeljena na: Karlovačko-senjsku i Kostajničko-zrinopoljsko-ličku (1713.-69.); Pakranska (1705); i Lepinsko-Severinska (1734-50). Biskupskom stolicom u Srijemu od 1751. upravljao je metropolit, najprije iz Krušedola, a kasnije iz Srijemskih Karlovaca.

Kao rezultat tih događaja, Karlovačka mitropolija postala je pravoslavna crkvena pokrajina koja je do 1920. godine obuhvaćala sve pravoslavne Srbe, Vlahe, Hrvate i Rumunje u južnoj Ugarskoj (Vojvodini) i u Hrvatskoj. Pravoslavni Vlasi i pravoslavni Hrvati koji su živjeli u dijelovima Dalmacije pod mletačkom vlašću iu Bosni bili su izvan njezine jurisdikcije, kao i Rumunji od 1860-ih, kada je u Mađarskoj utemeljena Rumunjska pravoslavna crkva. Karlovački mitropoliti nazivali su se vrhovnim mitropolitima (srpskim arhiepiskopima) i priznavali vrhovnu vlast pećkog patrijarha. Tek nakon ukidanja Pećke patrijaršije 1766. godine mitropolit Josif Rajačić dobiva titulu patrijarha 1848. godine.

Nakon formiranja mitropolije u Karlovcima, Pravoslavna crkva u Hrvatskoj, među hrvatskim Vlasima i Hrvatima službeno poznata kao istočnokatolička, dolazi sve više pod pritisak Srpske pravoslavne crkve čiji je cilj bio preuzimanje kontrole nad nesrpskim pravoslavnim svećenstvom i stanovništvom, u osobito brojni Vlasi, od kojih je većina slavenizirana ili pohrvaćena. Slabljenjem i kasnijim ukidanjem Pećke patrijaršije 1766. taj je cilj izgubio zamah u područjima pod turskom vlašću, ali je dobio zamah u Banskoj Hrvatskoj i Vojnoj krajini [5]kroz djelovanje karlovačke mitropolije. U drugoj polovici prošlog stoljeća srbizacija nesrpskog pravoslavnog stanovništva kulminirala je stvaranjem srpske crkveno-nacionalne svijesti kod većine pravoslavnog stanovništva u Hrvatskoj. Od tog vremena srpski je za mnoge postao sinonim za pravoslavlje. Na taj se način moderni srpski nacionalizam kretao ne samo prema sjeveru kroz migracije, već i prema zapadu kroz obraćenje na srpsko pravoslavlje. To je uzrokovalo srpsko etničko raspršivanje i formiranje značajne srpske manjine na hrvatskom teritoriju. Istodobno je drevno središte srpske crkve u Peći ostalo izvan utjecaja karlovačke mitropolije i postupno su ga naseljavali Albanci. Za vrijeme Khuen-Hedervaryjeve diktature u Hrvatskoj (1883-1903) osnivaju se prve srpske pravoslavne škole, au Pakracu je otvoren Srpsko-pravoslavni bogoslovski fakultet. Zastava Kraljevine Srbije kasnije je uzeta kao pravoslavna zastava u Hrvatskoj. Slično se događalo iu Bosni i Hercegovini nakon austrougarske okupacije, kada su 1905. službeno potvrđene autonomne škole Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Ova karakteristična metoda buđenja nacionalne svijesti kroz vjersku pripadnost donijela je svrstavanje većine pravoslavaca u Srbe, a analogno svrstavanju katolika latinskog i grčkog obreda u Hrvate, čime je uvelike otežano buđenje

nacionalne svijesti kod muslimanskog stanovništva. Najnegativnija posljedica toga bila je transformacija onoga što je nekada bio vjerski mozaik, miješanje Hrvata i Srba bez poštivanja njihovih povijesnih, kulturnih ili političkih granica, što je zauzvrat izazvalo komplikacije između ova dva i ostalih naroda na Balkanskom poluotoku. Rezultat tog procesa bilo je vrlo sporo formiranje Srbije i Hrvatske u moderne vjerski heterogene nacije (osobito Srbije) i formiranje znatnih manjina na hrvatskim i srpskim prostorima: 28,8 % u današnjoj Republici Srbiji, 20,6 % u današnjoj Republici Hrvatskoj (sa Srbima 14,2 %) i vrlo komplicirana situacija u Republici Bosni i Hercegovini (39,6 %). Muslimani, 37,2 % Srbi i 20,6 % Hrvati). [6] To je dovelo do netrpeljivosti, trvenja i sukoba između manjina i autohtonog stanovništva. To su u velikoj mjeri iskoristili stranci: režim Khuen-Hedervaryja u banskoj Hrvatskoj, autonomaši u Dalmaciji, režim Kallaya u Bosni i Hercegovini, Talijani, Nijemci i Mađari za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata itd. Osim toga, istrebljenje muslimana se odvijalo u Srbiji tijekom prošlog stoljeća, au Sandžaku iu Bosni i Hercegovini u prvoj polovici ovog stoljeća, opet od strane Srba. To je dovelo do međusobnog istrebljenja i srpske i hrvatske manjine tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata.

PRAVOSLAVNA CRKVA U JUGOSLAVIJI 1918-1941. Kada je 1918. godine osnovana Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, na području nove države na razini mitropolije postojale su tri autokefalne pravoslavne crkvene oblasti: karlovačka, beogradska i crnogorsko-primorska. Također i dalmatinski dio Bukovinsko-dalmatinske mitropolije i Narodne autonomne Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Bosni i Hercegovini pod vrhovnom vlašću carigradskog patrijarha. Sve te Crkve ujedinjene su u Beogradu 26. svibnja 1919. u jednu Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu za novostvorenu kraljevinu. Srpska patrijaršija uspostavljena je 30. kolovoza 1920. u Srijemskim Karlovcima, a 12. studenoga iste godine sastao se izborni sabor koji je za patrijarha izabrao Dimitrija Pavlovića, arhiepiskopa beogradskog i mitropolita Srbije (1920.-30.). Patrijarha Dimitrija naslijedio je Varnava Rosić (1930-37), do tada mitropolit skopski. U njegovo se vrijeme Srpska pravoslavna crkva žestoko opirala konkordatu između Kraljevine Jugoslavije i Svete Stolice koji je vlada Milana Stojadinovića htjela ratificirati 1937. U tom sukobu patrijarh Varnava je umro, a krv je prolivena u demonstracijama koje su uslijedile 19. srpnja 1937. u Beogradu. Novog patrijarha Gavrila Dožića (1938-50) Nijemci su u aprilu 1941. uhapsili u manastiru Ostrog i, pošto je odbio kolaboraciju, bio interniran do kraja rata.

Proces uređenja pravoslavne crkve u Jugoslaviji započet je donošenjem privremenog zakona o srpskoj patrijaršiji (23. listopada 1920.) i centralizacijom upravne i sudske vlasti srpske patrijaršije (13. prosinca 1920.), zakonom o srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi (8. studenoga 1929.) i konačno ustavom srpske pravoslavne crkve (16. studenoga 1931.).

Po svom ustrojstvu Srpska pravoslavna crkva je u periodu između dva rata bila jedna, nedjeljiva i episkopska, sa glavnom administrativnom podjelom na eparhije u jerarhijskom i administrativnom pogledu. Na taj je način u Hrvatskoj službeno ukinut naziv istočna katolička crkva, a svi pravoslavci na području Jugoslavije, uključujući i nesrpsko stanovništvo (Makedonci, Crnogorci, Vlasi, Hrvati, Bugari, Ukrajinci, Rumunji, Albanci, Grci, Cincari itd.) podređeni su patrijarhu u Beogradu i smatrani su srpsko-pravoslavnom vjeroispovješću. Nema sumnje da su zanemarivanje i progoni nesrpskih naroda u predratnoj Jugoslaviji, prije

svega Hrvata, Makedonaca i Albanaca, izazvali loše osjećaje i prema Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, kao najomiljenijoj i privilegiranoj. Kolonizacija čisto hrvatskih i katoličkih krajeva od strane srpskih dragovoljaca, progoni muslimana nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata, gradnja srpskih pravoslavnih crkava i pokušaji prodora u čisto katoličke krajeve poput jadranske obale (otok Vis na primjer) izazvali su, osim nacionalnog animoziteta, još više zle volje prema Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi.

RAZVOJ RAZLIČITIH NACIONALNIH PRAVOSLAVNIH CRKAVA Za razliku od drugih svjetskih religija koje nemaju tijesnih veza s pojedinim narodima, i za razliku od Katoličke crkve, koja je pod papinskom vlašću, Pravoslavna crkva nema zajedničko ustrojstvo. "Carigradski patrijarh nema nikakvu vlast nad pravoslavnim crkvama drugih zemalja. Područja na Istoku, koja je Bizant izgubio tijekom svog pada, postupno su izgubila kontakt sa središnjom vlašću, dok su regije koje su graničile s Franačkim carstvom i Bizantom neko vrijeme oscilirale između Pape i ekumenskog patrijarha (Moravska, Bugarska, Dalmatinska tema [7]). Jačajući, nove srednjovjekovne države pod bizantskim kulturnim utjecajem težile su političkoj i crkvenoj samostalnosti. Bugarski vladar Simeon, nakon što se 925. godine proglasio carem Bugara i Grka, utemeljio je u Bugarskoj patrijarhat koji se osamostalio od Bizanta (927.-1018.); Bugari su ponovno uživali autonomnu Crkvu u vrijeme Ivana Asjena II (1218-41). U isto vrijeme, dok je Bizant bio u rasulu tijekom četvrtog križarskog rata, Sava Nemanjić je 1219. godine osnovao samostalnu srpsku arhiepiskopiju koja je postala samostalna patrijaršija u vrijeme cara Dušana 1346. godine. Njen arhiepiskop Joakinije proglašen je "patrijarhom Srba i Bugara". Provala Turaka značila je kraj samostalne srpske crkve. Rumunjska crkva bila je autonomna između 1425. i 1440. Bizantski car i carigradski patrijarh, tražeći pomoć Zapada protiv Turaka, pokušali su još jednom (1439.) riješiti pitanje raskola (Firentinska unija). Njihov potez iskoristila je Ruska crkva kao izgovor za uskraćivanje vjernosti carigradskom patrijarhu, a potom i za proglašavanje svoje neovisnosti 1448. Moskovski mitropolit preuzeo je titulu patrijarha 1589. Petar Veliki ukinuo je Moskovsku patrijaršiju (1721.) i na njeno mjesto postavio Sveti sinod. Patrijaršija je obnovljena tek 1917. [8] Nakon rehabilitacije Pravoslavne crkve na Balkanskom poluotoku nakon dugogodišnjeg razdoblja bliske suradnje s Turcima, ona je počela aktivno sudjelovati u otporu protiv osmanske vlasti, te je osim vjerskih potreba imala ulogu u očuvanju pismenosti, kulture i njegovanju nacionalne tradicije. Istu ulogu imala je i Pećka patrijaršija (1557-1766). Nakon što su na Balkanskom poluotoku formirane nacionalne države, na njihovim su područjima uspostavljene autonomne Crkve. Uz Carigradsku patrijaršiju osamostalile su se sljedeće Crkve: *Grčka pravoslavna crkva* (sinoda 1828., autokefalna 1833., priznata 1850.); Rumunjska *pravoslavna crkva* (autokefalna 1865., patrijarhat 1925.); Bugarska *pravoslavna crkva* (neovisnost 1870., egzarhat 1945.); Mađarska *pravoslavna crkva* (neovisnost 1930.); Srpska *pravoslavna crkva* (autonomija 1830, autokefalnost 1879, patrijaršija 1920); Albanska *pravoslavna crkva* (autokefalna 1939.); Makedonska *pravoslavna crkva* (autonomija 1959., autokefalnost 1967.) i *Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva*(autokefalna samo 1942-45). Uz četiri Patrijaršije (Carigradsku, Aleksandrijsku, Antiohijsku i Jeruzalemsku) postojale su i brojne nacionalne i autokefalne Crkve: Ruska (2), Gruzijska, Sinajska, Ciparska, Poljska, Čehoslovačka, Finska, Dodekanez, Ukrajinska (2),

Američka (3), Sirijska, Latvijska, Litvanska, Estonska itd.

HRVATSKA PRAVOSLAVNA CRKVA

PRAVNI I SLUŽBENI POLOŽAJ PRAVOSLAVNOG NARODA U NEZAVISNOJ DRŽAVI HRVATSKOJ TIJEKOM 1941. GODINE Nakon sloma Jugoslavije nakon napada sila Osovine, 10. travnja 1941. utemeljena je Nezavisna Država Hrvatska. Novonastalu državu činile su Trojedna Kraljevina (Hrvatska, Slavonija, Dalmacija) i Bosne i Hercegovine (ali bez Međimurja, dijela Gorskog kotara, obalnog dijela sjeverne Dalmacije između rijeke Zrmanje i grada Splita, Boke Kotorske i svih otoka osim Paga, Brača i Hvara). Prema popisu stanovništva iz 1931. godine, područje hrvatske države imalo je ukupno 6.042.306 stanovnika; Od toga 30,5 % (1.845.340) bili su pravoslavci. Pri tome nisu uračunati gore navedeni teritorijalni gubici u kojima je prevladavalo hrvatsko katoličko stanovništvo. Režim novonastale države bio je totalitaran i autoritaran. Državni poglavar dr. Ante Pavelić [9] i ustaški pokret držali su svu zakonodavnu i izvršnu vlast. Zakonska regulativa br. XXXV-232-Z-1942 od 24. siječnja 1942. o ponovnom uspostavljanju Hrvatskog sabora i sazivanju Sabora 23. veljače 1942. nije u osnovi promijenila sustav vlasti. Vjerska pitanja u novoj državi prešla su u nadležnost Ministarstva pravosuđa i vjera. Unutarnji ustroj ovog ministarstva propisan je zakonom od 9. kolovoza 1941. Ministarstva su bila podijeljena na odjele sa svojim posebnim nadležnostima. U početku je osnovan samo jedan odsjek, a kasnije Odjel za bogoštovje na čelu s vlč. AR Glavaš. U nadležnost ovog odjela bilo je "uređivanje položaja i pravnih odnosa svih vjera i njihova svećenstva; također vjerska pitanja od općeg/pravnog značaja" . [10] Od ožujka 1942. u Saboru je djelovao Odbor za pravosuđe i vjeru; član toga odbora bio je umirovljeni sveučilišni profesor i bivši viceban, ugledni književnik dr. Vinko Krišković.

Ministarskom uredbom od 18. srpnja 1941. odlučeno je da se naziv "Srpska pravoslavna vjera", za koji se smatralo da nije u skladu s novim državnim uređenjem, zamijeni naslovom "Grčko-istočna vjera" kako se zvala prije 1918. Ukazom od 4. prosinca 1941. "na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske ukida se julijanski kalendar od 5. prosinca 1941. za grčko-istočnu i grko-katoličku crkvu i uvodi se gregorijanski kalendar". [11]

Kakvo je bilo službeno stajalište o vjerskim slobodama i položaju pravoslavaca tijekom 1941. godine, moglo se vidjeti iz govora koji je u Saboru održao ministar pravosuđa i bogoštovlja dr. Mirko Puk. "U pitanju vjere hrvatska vlada slijedi načelo, koje je utemeljitelj Stranke prava dr. Ante Starčević (l2) unio u srce i dušu hrvatskog naroda. U svom vodiču za sljedbenike stranke kaže u klauzuli 136: Stranka prava mora učiti narod da je vjera duhovna stvar, da se nijedan narod ne može dijeliti na vjerskoj osnovi, da vjera mora biti slobodna, da nitko ne može svoju vjeru nametnuti silom, da narod mora biti jedan u sreći, blagostanju i slobodi, a sadašnjom nejedinstvom u Hrvatskoj koriste se neprijatelji naroda" . [13] Međutim, nakon ovog liberalnog citata dr. Puk nastavlja: "Hrvatska vlada priznaje 3 vjere u Hrvatskoj, tj. katoličku, zapadnog ili istočnog obreda, muslimansku i evangeličku augsburšku helvetsku vjeroispovijed". Na kraju svog govora dr. Puk se osvrnuo na „… Srpsku pravoslavnu i grčko-istočnu crkvu. Nezavisna Država Hrvatska ne progoni grčko-istočnu vjeru, ali ne može priznati Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu! Poznata je činjenica da Istočne Crkve pripadaju takozvanim cezarejskim Crkvama, tj. Crkvama u kojima na vjerska pitanja utječe

establišment, kao iu imenovanju crkvenih hijerarhija, tako da u stvarnosti te Crkve nemaju nikakvu slobodu u svom ustrojstvu ili organizaciji, niti djeluju slobodno, već ostaju organi establišmenta. Poglavar je ujedno i poglavar Crkve, a poznato je da laici imaju dominantnu ulogu. Dakle, dopustiti formiranje i postojanje Srpske pravoslavne crkve na području NDH značilo bi dopustiti vladi Srpske države da dijelom upravlja na području NDH, koristeći se Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom. To nijedna država na svijetu ne bi niti mogla dopustiti, a neće dopustiti ni Nezavisna Država Hrvatska. Oni koji iz bilo kojeg razloga ne žele priznati ovo povijesno stanje mogu slobodno napustiti teritorij ove države." [14]
Dr. Ante Pavelić u svom govoru na završnoj sjednici Hrvatskog sabora 28. veljače 1942. osvrnuo se i na pitanje pravoslavlja u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj riječima: "Gospodo! Jedna stvar koja je tako često imala svoje odjeke, i dobre i loše, za hrvatski narod i za našu hrvatsku domovinu je pitanje pravoslavne crkve. Ne pravoslavna vjera nego Crkva, jer postoji samo jedna kršćanska vjera. Imali smo grčko-istočnu crkvu. Nazvana je grčko-istočnom jer su pravoslavni u našoj zemlji bili pod grčkim patrijarhom čija se glavna briga za njih sastojala u primanju visokih nagrada za pomazanje episkopa. Ista je situacija bila i u Mađarskoj. Mađari su, međutim, donijeli zakon kojim su svi pravoslavni podređeni srpskom patrijarhu. Ubrzo su Hrvati kopirali Mađare, a isti zakon donesen je iu Hrvatskoj. Na taj način su pravoslavni došli pod vlast srpskog patrijarha, a nastao je i naziv Srpska pravoslavna crkva. Ne postoji nitko u Hrvatskoj tko ima nešto protiv pravoslavne vjere. Svatko se moli Bogu po svojoj savjesti, po onome što je naučio u mladosti, rođenjem, školovanjem i odgojem, i kako misli da je najbolje za spasenje duše. Nije na nama da ulazimo u onu najintimniju stranu ljudskog života, u pitanje spasenja duše. Nije točno da hrvatska država ima za cilj prevesti pravoslavce na katoličku vjeru. To nije politički. To je prepušteno individualnoj savjesti. Osobno sam napisao okružnicu koja je bila podijeljena odgovornim vlastima u pokrajinama i zamolio ih da vode evidenciju o obraćenjima, ne samo na katoličanstvo nego i na islam i evangelikalizam, te da daju dopuštenje samo ako se uvjere da je obraćenik pošten i da to čini iz uvjerenja. Naglasio sam u okružnici da se moraju upotrijebiti sva sredstva da se spriječi bilo kakva uporaba sile od bilo koga. Unatoč tome, u nekim je slučajevima bilo primijenjeno nasilje, ali to nije činila država, niti uz odobrenje države, nego pojedinci koji su postupali protuzakonito ili, ako službene osobe, onda su prekoračile svoje ovlasti. [15]Gospoda! Pravoslavce nitko ne dira, ali za SPC nema mjesta u državi Hrvatskoj. Ponavljam: ne može biti srpske, ne može biti grčke pravoslavne crkve. Zašto? Jer svugdje u svijetu Pravoslavne Crkve su nacionalne Crkve. Srpska pravoslavna crkva dio je srpske države. Hijerarhiju Srpske pravoslavne crkve vodi srpska država. Njezini državni predstavnici postavljaju patrijarha ili barem sudjeluju u njegovom imenovanju, a o njemu ovisi sva hijerarhija, od biskupa do kapelana. Sve to ovisi o srpskom establišmentu. Tako je u Srbiji, tako je bilo i u prošlosti u nesretnoj Jugoslaviji, ali možda neće i neće biti u hrvatskoj državi. U Hrvatskoj bi mogle postojati svjetske Crkve koje ne ovise o državi, a takvih Crkava ima. Ali ako Crkva nije svjetska, onda može biti samo hrvatska narodna Crkva, može biti samo Crkva koja ima punu slobodu u duhovnom području i u slobodi savjesti, ali u svemu ostalom mora biti pod nadzorom hrvatske Države. Nikada nećemo dopustiti da bilo koja Crkva postane političko oruđe, a pogotovo ne ona koja je usmjerena protiv opstojnosti

hrvatskog naroda i hrvatske države. Stoga će se razumni ljudi, kojima je stalo do duhovnih stvari, okupiti da razmotre ovo pitanje i da nađu zadovoljavajuće rješenje za pravoslavnu vjeru, za dobrobit naroda i za dobro Hrvatske Države" . [16]

Iz naprijed citiranog obraćanja ministra dr. Puka, kao i iz obraćanja Poglavnika Saboru, dat će se zaključiti da je službeni stav koji je vlada nove države zauzela karakterizirao sljedeće: 1. Afirmirati hrvatski narod kao moderan i vjerski heterogen narod, za razliku od zastarjelog i štetnog poistovjećivanja naroda s određenom vjerom. 2. Nasuprot liberalnim pogledima na pitanje vjere koje je proklamirao Starčević, usvojiti totalitarno i autoritarno službeno priznanje samo četiri vjere: katoličke (rimokatoličke i grkokatoličke), muslimanske, protestantsko-luteranske i protestantsko-kalvinističke. 3. Ne priznavati i ne tolerirati na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu kao autokefalnu narodnu crkvu srpske države. 4. Objasniti da prelazak određenog broja pravoslavaca na katoličanstvo i zločini počinjeni nad pravoslavnim stanovništvom pod ustaškim imenom, nisu imali podršku vlasti niti su bili poticani. 5. Problem pravoslavlja u hrvatskim okvirima riješiti priznavanjem autokefalne Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve.

SLOŽENOST STANJA 1941. GODINE PRIJE OSNUTEKA HRVATSKE PRAVOSLAVNE CRKVE Još uvijek nije napisana nepristrana, objektivna i detaljna povijesna analiza događaja u NDH tijekom 1941. godine. Niti nam je namjera napisati jednu, jer bi to zahtijevalo potpunu knjigu. No, kako postoji potreba da se sažeto oslikaju događaji koji su utjecali na stanje pravoslavlja u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj i doveli do osnutka Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, potrebno je objasniti i razjasniti neke osnovne pojmove. Nedostatak jasnog razumijevanja ovih pojmova onemogućuje pravilnu analizu ovih vrlo složenih događaja, događaja koji su rezultat jednako složenih uzroka i koji su kapitalizirani zlonamjernim generaliziranjem. Potrebno je prije svega objasniti odnos suvremenog srpskog i hrvatskog nacionalizma, katoličko-pravoslavni odnos, a na kraju i odnos četništva i ustaštva.

SUKOB IZMEĐU SUVREMENOG SRPSKOG I HRVATSKOG NACIONALIZMA Moderni srpski nacionalizam počeo se razvijati početkom prošlog stoljeća u Beogradskom pašaluku tadašnjeg turskog područja, uglavnom pod utjecajem i uz potporu karlovačke mitropolije u ugarsko-hrvatskoj Vojvodini i Istočnom Srijemu. Bez suvremene državotvorne platforme ona je za svoju osnovu uzela drevnu srpsku tradiciju o Dušanovom carstvu i smrti cara Lazara na Kosovu polju. S druge strane, nedostatak formalnog, nacionalnog, kulturnog i vjerskog središta nadomjestila je karlovačka mitropolija, koju je povremeno podupirala Ruska crkva (Pećka je patrijaršija davno prije toga denacionalizirana i potom ukinuta). Ustanak na području Beogradskog pašaluka, već dekadentnog Turskog carstva, rezultirao je stvaranjem i kasnijim priznanjem (1833.) srpske kneževine uz pomoć carske Rusije. Islam je eliminiran s teritorije, a kneževina je postala nacionalno i vjerski homogeno središte budućeg okupljanja zemalja u kojima su živjeli Srbi; također središte velikosrpskog imperijalizma, s ekspanzionističkom politikom na teritorije bez srpskog stanovništva ili gdje je srpsko stanovništvo bilo u manjini. Te teritorijalne težnje temeljile su se na želji za obnovom Dušanova carstva (osvajanjem Sandžaka, Makedonije, Albanije i Crne Gore) i opsegu aktivnosti koje je Pećka patrijaršija imala za vrijeme turske vladavine (Vojvodina, Bosna i Hercegovina i Hrvatska isključujući uski dio između rijeke Drave i Jadrana).

Formiranje modernog hrvatskog nacionalizma imalo je sasvim drugo ishodište. Temeljila se na kontinuitetu starohrvatske državnosti, počevši od kneževine, kasnije kraljevine (prvi kralj Tomislav, okrunjen 923.), sačuvavši svoju individualnost u vrijeme Ugarsko-hrvatske personalne unije [17]; o povijesnoj, legalističkoj i etničkoj koncepciji Unitarnog Ilirika (*in Dalmatiam, Croatiam, Bosnam et Slavoniam distinguitur*), tijekom i nakon renesanse i autonomne Trojedne Kraljevine (Hrvatska, Slavonija, Dalmacija), unutar Habsburške Monarhije. Iako s naizgled solidnim temeljem za državnost i s tradicijom u ustavnim i pravnim institucijama (poput bana i Sabora), Hrvatska 19. stoljeća imala je i velikih slabosti. Vladajuća klasa, dijelom odnarođena aristokracija, nije sudjelovala u suvremenom hrvatskom nacionalnom pokretu, ali mu se snažno odupirala. Uz to, trostoljetna teritorijalna razdvojenost (Banska Hrvatska, Vojna krajina, Mletačka Dalmacija, Dubrovačka Republika i krajevi pod turskom vlašću), vojno područje u zemljopisnom središtu hrvatskog teritorija i seobe, oslabile su svijest o njezinoj drevnoj državnosti na nekim područjima. “Hrvatski narodni pokret” unio je moderne nacionalne ideje o jedinstvu hrvatskoga jezika i kulture (od 1830.). No, istodobno je uvela maglovite ideje ilirizma, slavenstva i jugoslavenstva. Zbog toga je moderni hrvatski nacionalizam zaostao za razvojem modernog nacionalizma u Srbiji, a Starčević i „Pravastvo“ mogli bi se smatrati začetnicima modernog hrvatskog političkog nacionalizma koji je djelovao, ne samo na ujedinjenju Vojne krajine i Dalmacije s Trojednom kraljevinom, nego i na ujedinjenju s Bosnom, Hercegovinom i Istrom.
Sukob između hrvatskog i srpskog modernog nacionalizma započeo je širenjem nacionalističkih ideja, iz zagrebačke regije na hrvatskoj strani i iz novosadsko/beogradske regije na srpskoj strani prema Bosni i Hercegovini, tada još u turskim rukama, nacionalno neprobuđenog stanovništva; i kada je karlovačka mitropolija težila definitivnom uključivanju svih pravoslavaca s područja Trojedne kraljevine (Hrvatske, Slavonije, Dalmacije) i iz Bosne i Hercegovine u Srbe. “Pravastvo” (Stranka hrvatskog prava) se tome odupiralo s modernom idejom viševjerske hrvatske nacije, ali su se antihrvatski režimi Khuena, Hedervaryja u banskoj Hrvatskoj, autonomaša u Dalmaciji i Kallaya u Bosni pobrinuli da prevlada srpska jednadžba pravoslavac = Srbin. To je kasnije dovelo do analogne jednadžbe: katolik = Hrvat. Muslimani su uglavnom ostali nesvrstani u sredini. Jedan broj pravoslavaca i muslimana, međutim, prihvatio je modernu formulu koju propagiraju “Pravasi” o vjerski heterogenoj hrvatskoj naciji, pa zato postoji i jedan broj Hrvata pravoslavaca i muslimana; slučajevi Srba katolika ili muslimana bili su iznimno rijetki.
KATOLICIZAM I PRAVOSLAVLJE Katoličanstvo kao glavna grana zapadnog kršćanstva vjera je većine Hrvata i također je dalo katolički karakter Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji. Bila je to vjera dinastije i većine naroda koji su činili monarhiju: Austrijanaca, Mađara, Hrvata, Poljaka, Čeha, Slovaka, Slovenaca i Ukrajinaca. Kao univerzalna Crkva, katolicizam je u to vrijeme još uvijek imao za cilj prozelitizaciju, ali to je bilo utemeljeno na čisto dobrovoljnoj osnovi. Dokaz tome bila je činjenica da povlašteni položaj katoličanstva u Austro-Ugarskoj nije iskorišten tijekom posljednjih nekoliko stoljeća. Nije bilo prozelitizacije ni uvjeravanjem ni silom. Vjerska je sloboda bila potpuna.
Pravoslavna crkva, kao što je već spomenuto, nema unitarnu organizaciju poput Katoličke crkve. Osim što je bilo podijeljeno na stare i tradicionalne nacionalne Crkve, Pravoslavlje se

također prilagođavalo novonastalim narodima i novim nacionalnim državama i često im je postajalo glavnom pogonskom snagom. S druge strane, te novonastale nacije i nacionalne države poticale su formiranje vlastitih pravoslavnih crkava kako bi svoje građane oslobodile kontrole drugih nacionalnih pravoslavnih crkava koje su bile pod utjecajem stranih država i vlada. Iz tih zbivanja proizlazi da je teritorij koji su naselili Hrvati bio mjesto susreta tri velike vjere: katoličke, pravoslavne i islamske. Dok su katoličanstvo i islam univerzalne religije, pravoslavlje je podijeljeno na više nacionalnih Crkava. Kako Hrvati do vremena narodnog buđenja nisu osnovali autokefalnu hrvatsku pravoslavnu crkvu (iako je 1861. Kvaternik [18] apelirao da se Šokčeviću zabrani osnivanje crkve), Srpska pravoslavna crkva je zauzela mjesto većeg dijela pravoslavnog stanovništva među Hrvatima i ujedno uspjela za srpsku stvar pridobiti većinu pravoslavnog stanovništva, uglavnom već slaveniziranog i pohrvaćenog. potomci Vlaha. Drugim riječima, prozelitizam srpskoga pravoslavlja među Hrvatima nije imao samo vjerski karakter (kao u službenoj Katoličkoj crkvi), već je imao i nacionalističke srpske dimenzije, što je ponekad dovodilo do nacionalne netolerancije.

ČETNICI I USTAŠEČetnici, srpska vojna organizacija s ekspanzionističkim ciljevima, osnovana su u Beogradu 1903. godine s namjerom borbe protiv Turaka. Kasnije je angažiran u ratu protiv bugarskih komita i protiv austrougarskih okupacijskih snaga tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata. Između dva rata (1918.-1941.) Četnička organizacija je postala ekstremistička (veliko)srpska monarhistička skupina s ciljem pretvaranja Jugoslavije u Veliku Srbiju koristeći se terorom i istrebljenjem kada je to bilo potrebno za "čišćenje" mješovitih krajeva od nesrpskih elemenata, kao što je na primjer čišćenje muslimana iz Sandžaka nakon Prvog svjetskog rata. Tako su četnici postali važan element u progonu Hrvata u predratnoj Jugoslaviji.

Nastanak i razvoj ustaškog pokreta povjesničar Jere Jareb ovako opisuje: "Hrvatski se narod nakon 1918. prvi put našao u balkanskoj državi u kojoj su gruba sila, ubojstva i tajne revolucionarne organizacije bile normalna politička pojava. Filozofija iza formiranja ustaškog pokreta bila je uvjerenje da se na silu mora odgovoriti silom. Ustaški pokret bio je odgovor na (veliko)srpski ugnjetavanje i bezakonje u Hrvatskoj. Ustaški pokret je prvi put u hrvatsku politiku uveo i primijenio balkanske političke metode. Trebalo je pokazati Srbima da i Hrvati znaju upotrijebiti oružje i braniti se i napadati. Radićeva [19] i Mačekova [20] politika pacifizma i humanitarizma izazivale su samo prezir (veliko) Srba. Moguće je da je ovakva politika stvorila iluziju i samopouzdanje među (veliko)Srbima, tjerajući ih da vjeruju da će Hrvate biti lako dokrajčiti". E. "Dido" Kvaternik, jedan od vodećih ustaških dužnosnika, rekao je ovo: "Protusrpsko osjećanje bilo je bit ustaške doktrine, njen *raison d'etre* i *ceterum censeo* . To je rezultat 20-godišnje vladavine Beograda Hrvatskom i spoznaje da srbijanska vladajuća garnitura želi istrijebiti hrvatski narod. Aleksandar Karađorđević [21] stvorio je Antu Pavelića, četnici su stvorili ustaše".

Dakle, kada su hrvatski i srpski nacionalizmi došli u sukob, ekstremne četničke i ustaške organizacije su se obračunale na svoj specifičan način.

SUKOBI IZMEĐU USTAŠA I ČETNIKA U NEZAVISNOJ DRŽAVI HRVATSKOJ TIJEKOM 1941. GODINE I NJEGOVE POSLJEDICE ZA PRAVOSLAVLJE Ubrzo nakon osnutka Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nova se vlast relativno brzo učvrstila u onim krajevima koji su

činili Banovinu Hrvatsku (1939.-1941.) i gdje je većina stanovništva bila hrvatska. U tim dijelovima bivše Vrbaske banovine i Drinske banovine sa kompaktnim srpskim kotarima trebalo je neko vrijeme da se nova uprava učvrsti, što je dalo vremena četničkom elementu da skupi oružje i pripremi stanovništvo za ustanak. Već na samom početku došlo je do ekscesa od strane ustaša u onim dijelovima zemlje gdje su Srbi bili u manjini i četnika u onim dijelovima gdje su hrvatski muslimani ili katolički živalj bili u manjini. Politički skupovi koji su se održavali tijekom svibnja i lipnja 1941. i na kojima su visoki ustaški funkcioneri harangirali protiv (veliko)srba, pogoršali su situaciju. U isto vrijeme, organizirani ili potaknuti od strane četnika, srpsko stanovništvo u dijelovima Bosanske krajine i istočne Bosne i Hercegovine podiglo je masovne ustanke protiv nove države. Napadnute manjine ili su stradale ili pobjegle. Hrvate muslimane i katolike u gradove, a Srbe u šume. Nakon prvog vala terorističkih ekscesa, pokolja, pljački, paljenja kuća i uništavanja bogomolja (pravoslavnih, katoličkih i muslimanskih) uslijedile su odmazde, koje su nanijele patnje uglavnom nedužnom stanovništvu koje nije pobjeglo. Intervencija vlasti bila je prespora i neučinkovita jer se nova uprava tek počela formirati, a policijske postaje koje su tek osnovane nisu mogle spriječiti masovni terorizam. U takvoj situaciji srpska manjina u nekim gradovima i selima u panonskoj regiji živjela je u strahu od odmazde, zbog čega su neki pobjegli u Srbiju; dok su drugi odlučili promijeniti vjeru iz srpskog pravoslavlja u drugu vjeroispovijest. U nemješovitim, čisto hrvatskim krajevima nije bilo takvih problema i tek nakon izbijanja rata između Njemačke i Sovjetskog Saveza formirane su prve komunističke gerilske jedinice. U međuvremenu su partizani četničko-ustaški sukob vješto iskoristili za svoje ciljeve.

Iz navedenih okolnosti i vrlo kratke analize događaja tijekom 1941. godine, koji su uzrokovali progone i građanski rat u mješovitim krajevima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, mogu se izvući sljedeći zaključci: 1. Prisutnost tri vjere (katoličke, pravoslavne i muslimanske) na području NDH nije bila uzrok progona i građanskog rata. Povijest je pokazala da je na ovom području bio moguć miran suživot i tolerancija između tri vjere. 2. Sukob između hrvatskog i srpskog nacionalizma nije bio glavni uzrok progona i građanskog rata jer su se ti sukobi u prošlosti rješavali mirnim putem, a ne upotrebom sile. 3. Netočno je događaje iz 1941. prikazati kao tipične za cijelo vrijeme trajanja rata, od 1941. do 1945. godine. 4. Prilike nisu bile iste na cijelom području NDH. Ovisilo je tko su: a) četničke ili ustaške vođe, zapovjednici ili funkcioneri. b) U čijim je rukama vlast (četnici, dužnosnici bivše jugoslavenske vlade ili bivše vlade banske Hrvatske, HSS-a, ustaški iseljenici, domaće ustaše pod prisegom ili samozvane ustaše, tzv. „nastaše“ [22]). c) Je li dotični kraj bio nacionalno mješovit ili čisto hrvatski ili srpski. d) Je li područje bilo u zoni okupacije Talijana koji su podržavali i pomagali četnike. e) Stupanj buntovničke tradicije među stanovništvom koji je ovisio o geografskom položaju toga prostora (panonskom, dinarskom ili primorskom). Polemički argumenti o tome "tko je prvi počeo?" su bespredmetne jer se, ovisno o okolnostima, započinjalo ili u ime četnika ili u ime ustaša, ali uvijek od neodgovornog elementa.

Što je onda bio glavni uzrok pokretanja progona i građanskog rata 1941. godine, koji se na nekim područjima i pod posebnim uvjetima izrodio od vojnih ili poluvojnih akcija do masovnih represalija nad civilnim stanovništvom, a koje su pristaše komunizma kasnije iskoristile za svoje ciljeve, ističući apsurdnost ovog sukoba? Bio je to uglavnom sukob između četnika i

ustaša. U tom sukobu sve tri vjere: katolička, pravoslavna i muslimanska, trpjele su i podnosile progone, uključujući masakre, ubojstva svećenika i paljenje crkava i džamija. No, za počinjena nasilja i zločine i zloporabu vlasti ne može se kolektivno optuživati ni srpski ni hrvatski narod, niti pripadnici bilo koje pojedine vjere, niti amorfne skupine poput hrvatskih ili srpskih nacionalista ili pripadnika masovnih organiziranih pokreta poput ustaša i četnika, iako se radilo o ekstremističkim organizacijama. Za zločine su mogli odgovarati samo oni neodgovorni pojedinci koji su počinili zločine, no većina njih je nažalost ostala anonimna; štoviše, neki od njih kasnije su se uspjeli priključiti partizanskom pokretu.

SLUČAJEVI PRELASKA S PRAVOSLAVLJA NA KATOLIČANSTVO Kao što se vidi iz situacije 1941. godine, Srpska pravoslavna crkva, kao Crkva sa srpskim nacionalnim predznakom, bila je zabranjena, dok Grčko-istočna crkva, kako se pravoslavna crkva preimenovala i kako se nazivala u vrijeme Austro-Ugarske, nije bila službeno organizirana niti priznata i ostala je bez poglavara. Na taj su način pravoslavci zapravo ostali bez crkvenog ustrojstva osim ako nisu pripadali nekoj drugoj autokefalnoj Crkvi poput ruske, bugarske, rumunjske itd., a u kojoj je svećenstvo bilo na raspolaganju. Formiranje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske i ustaški pohodi protiv (veliko)srba natjerali su mnoge pravoslavne stanovnike da prihvate situaciju, ovisno o okolnostima (primjerice, obnova stare lojalnosti Hrvatskoj kod pravoslavnih Krajišnika) ili su stvorili klimu neizvjesnosti (s obzirom na moguće reakcije progona Hrvata u predratnoj Jugoslaviji). Kada se doznalo za zlouporabu vlasti i zločine, pravoslavno stanovništvo u mješovitim sredinama i gradovima s pravoslavnom manjinom zavladao je strah, pa su neki bježali u Srbiju, iako nisu bili progonjeni, drugi su samoinicijativno prelazili na katoličanstvo, a povremeno i na protestantizam, kako bi izbjegli sadašnje ili moguće progone. Stoga fenomen prelaska skupina pravoslavaca na katoličanstvo predstavlja zasebno poglavlje u događajima koji su se zbili u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj tijekom 1941. O tom fenomenu postoje tri tvrdnje.

a) velikosrpski i sadašnji službeni jugoslavenski: pokrštavanje se dogodilo jer je pravoslavno stanovništvo bilo tjerano od strane ustaša, od strane vlasti NDH, pa čak i od strane Katoličke crkve.

b) Teza o pokrštavanju kao posljedici straha: pokrštavanja nisu bila prisilna, niti ih je namjeravala vlast Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Pravoslavno stanovništvo je na tu ideju došlo i krenulo dobrovoljno i samoinicijativno, ali je to učinjeno iz straha da se sačuva od eventualnog nasilja.

c) Tvrdnja dr. A. Pavelića i dr. S. Hefera: obraćenja su proizašla iz dobrovoljne želje nekih skupina pravoslavnog stanovništva da se u vjeri identificiraju sa svojom braćom katolicima u jednoj hrvatskoj domovini. To bi uključivalo i slučajeve prelaska nekih pravoslavaca na katoličanstvo iz uvjerenja da se vraćaju vjeri svojih predaka. U dokaz ove teze dr. Pavelić i dr. Hefer citirali su deputacije pravoslavnih seljaka iz okolice Sunje koje je primio dr. Pavelić, te delegacije s područja Velike županije Baranje (šire okolice Osijeka) koje su dolazile dr. Heferu.

Nedvojbeno je da je prva teza (a) netočna, te da je propagandistička i tendenciozna iz dva razloga: 1. Vlasti Katoličke crkve odlučno su se odupirale obraćenjima kada nije bilo jasno da je zahtjev proizašao iz slobodne želje podnositelja. 2. Općenito govoreći, većina pripadnika

ustaškog pokreta i njihovih vođa nije bila osobito prokatolička, niti posebno antipravoslavna. Bili su protiv (veliko)srba i samo zato su bili protiv srpskog pravoslavlja. To dokazuju izvrsni odnosi između ustaškog pokreta i pravoslavnih Makedonaca, Bugara, Rumunja, Ukrajinaca i Rusa prije i tijekom rata.

Što se tiče teza (b) i (c), vjerojatno je da su obje slijedile ovisno o tome je li bilo razloga za strah ili ne. Ipak, vjerujemo da su slučajevi opisani pod (b) bili brojniji. Samo su u određenim akutnim slučajevima progona lokalne katoličke crkvene vlasti dopuštale obraćenje kao brzi način zaštite pravoslavnog stanovništva (i njihove imovine) s ciljem kasnijeg povratka pravoslavlju. [23]Dr. Stjepan Hefer, formalno član Hrvatske seljačke stranke, a za vrijeme rata visoki dužnosnik u Osijeku, a kasnije i ministar u NDH, često je pripovijedao kako su 1941. cijela sela iz okolice Osijeka dolazila u procesiji pod hrvatskim barjacima, na čelu s konjicom i predvođeni svojim starješinama, da ih pokatoliče. Požalio se da su to kasnije pokvarile samozvane, odnosno "divlje ustaše", koje su počele ucjenjivati i pljačkati ugledne seljake obraćenike.

PRAVOSLAVNI HRVATI Kod problema oko Srpske pravoslavne crkve u NDH čini se da su 1941. zanemarene duhovne potrebe pravoslavnih Hrvata. Moguće je da će neki pokušati zaključiti da je broj Hrvata pravoslavne vjere bio vrlo malen kada se uzme u obzir da se velika većina pravoslavnog stanovništva na tlu NDH u to vrijeme smatrala Srbima. Malo je onih koji su računali da su se, bez obzira na brojnost, pravoslavni Hrvati, nakon intenzivne srbizacije pravoslavlja u Hrvatskoj, našli rastrgani između svoje hrvatske nacionalne svijesti i vjerske pripadnosti koja je službeno potpala pod vlast Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Doprinos ovih Hrvata domovini, pogotovo prije nego što je karlovačka mitropolija počela otvoreno forsirati njihovu jednadžbu: pravoslavac = = Srbin, bio je vrlo važan. Ovo su samo neke od najistaknutijih ličnosti: Anastas Popović (1786.-1872.), utemeljitelj prve hrvatske štedionice, najveće novčane ustanove u Hrvatskoj toga doba, i predsjednik pravoslavne općine u Zagrebu; Mosije Baltic (1804-78), istaknuti promicatelj agronomije; dr. Dimitrije Demeter (1811.-72.), pjesnik i prvi moderni hrvatski dramatičar; Petar Preradović (1818-72), najveći pjesnik hrvatskog narodnog probuđenja; Josip Runjanin (1821.-78.), skladatelj hrvatske himne; Makso Prica (1823.-73.), pravnik i političar, tajnik bana Jelačića; Nikola Krestić (1824-87), političar i predsjednik Hrvatskog sabora (1873-84); Vladimir Nikolić (1829-66), pjesnik i književnik; Špiro Dimitrović Kotoranin (1813.-68.), hrvatski književnik; Bude Budisavljević (1843.-1919.), hrvatski književnik; Danilo Medić (1844-79), pjesnik; časni dr. Ivo Malin Ksaverski (1853.-1907.), sveučilišni profesor te tajnik i savjetnik hrvatske vlade; dr. Gavro Manojlović (1856.-1926.), povjesničar i predsjednik Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti; Mojo Medić (1855.-1939.), zoolog; Nikola Kokotović (1859.-1917.), književnik i političar (Hrvatska stranka prava); časni dr. Stjepan Miletić (1868.-1908.), književnik i reformator hrvatskoga kazališta; dr. Milan Ogrizović (1877.-1923.), pjesnik i književnik te političar (Hrvatska stranka prava); Petar Petrović Pecija (1877.-1955.), hrvatski književnik; časni Svetozar Borojević iz Bojne (1856.-1922.), glasoviti general iz Prvog svjetskog rata, te brojni drugi generali i visoki časnici Hrvatskog domobranstva; Dušan Plavšić, književnik i tajnik "Hrvatskog kluba" u Sarajevu; poznati sljedbenici Hrvatske stranke prava Dušan Kotur i Dane Stranisavljević; Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša, saborski zastupnik; Mihajlo Marković (1869-

1923), glumac; Novak Šimić (1906.), hrvatski književnik; zatim hrvatski generali i časnici Drugog svjetskog rata,general Fedor Dragojlov i general Đuro Grujić, načelnici Glavnog stožera Hrvatske vojske; general Lavoslav Milić, načelnik vojne opskrbe; Cav. pukovnik Jovo Stajić; Bojnik Vladimir Graovac, zapovjednik bombarderske jedinice Hrvatskog ratnog zrakoplovstva[24] na istočnoj fronti; dr. Savo Besarović, saborski zastupnik i ministar u vladi NDH; Uroš Doder, saborski zastupnik u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj; istaknuti svećenici Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve: Vaso Šurlan, Spiridon Mifka, Miron Federer, Sevastijan Perić, Dositej Teodorović, Amvrosije Veselinović, Rafail Stanivuković i dr.
Bit će zanimljivo spomenuti da je majka dr. Ante Starčevića, utemeljitelja modernog hrvatskog nacionalizma i Stranke prava, po rođenju bila pravoslavka. Također da je pobunjenike u Hrvatskom narodnom ustanku za osamostaljenje Hrvatske u Rakovici (1872.), pod vodstvom Eugena Kvaternika, u mjesnoj pravoslavnoj crkvi blagoslovio svećenik, otac Popović, te da je većina ustanika bila pravoslavne vjeroispovijesti, uključujući i zapovjednika Rade Čuića. Također će biti zanimljivo spomenuti da je karlovački mitropolit Josif Rajačić 1848. ustoličio bana Jelačića. Na prijemu kod bana Šokčevića 1861. Eugen Kvaternik skrenuo je pozornost banu na postojanje pravoslavnih Hrvata i istaknuo “potrebu hrvatskog pravoslavnog patrijarha”. Moguće je da je banova ostavka bila jedini razlog zašto se ta ideja nikada nije ostvarila. Treba spomenuti i stajalište Ante Radića o pravoslavnim Hrvatima. Rekao je: “Mi ne smatramo da je svako srpsko-pravoslavne vjere Srbin; um nam to govori, ali to možemo vidjeti i među ljudima. Našli smo mnogo seljaka srpsko-pravoslavne vjere koji su nam rekli da su Hrvati”. Osim onih pravoslavne vjere koji su se izjašnjavali Hrvatima, valja istaknuti da je bilo i brojnih pravoslavaca koji se zbog utjecaja Srpske pravoslavne crkve nisu izjašnjavali Hrvatima i smatrali su se Srbima, istovremeno osjećajući Hrvatsku svojom domovinom i pripadajući hrvatskom kulturnom prostoru. Među njima su: Nikola Tesla (1856.-1943.), glasoviti znanstvenik koji je rekao: “Ja sam Srbin, ali moja domovina je Hrvatska”; dr. Pavao Vuk-Pavlović (1894-?), sveučilišni profesor, filozof, te niz hrvatskih književnika: Stevan Galogala (1893-1944), Vladan Desnica (1905-57), Milan Nolinić (1921), Vojin Jelić (1921), Čedo Prica (1931), Jovan S. Prica; zatim poznati umjetnici Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta: Mišo Dimitrijević (1854-1909), Mila Jovanović-Dimitrijević (1876), Josip Papić (1881-1927), Gavro Savić (1854-poslije 1910), Žarko Savić (1861-poslije 1914), Strahinja Petrović (1892-?) i dr. Miroslav Pantić, a bivši narodni poslanik iz Bijeljine i drugi. Naveli smo ove konkretne primjere da pokažemo da su pravoslavni Hrvati postojali i da ih još uvijek ima i da ima i Srba koji Hrvatsku smatraju svojom domovinom. Točan broj pravoslavnih Hrvata nikada se neće saznati, a Srpska pravoslavna crkva ima ekskluzivna prava nad pravoslavnim stanovništvom u Hrvatskoj.

PREGOVORI O OSNIVANJU HRVATSKE PRAVOSLAVNE CRKVE POČETKOM 1942.

Razvoj događaja tijekom 1941. u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj odmah je izazvao reakcije i osude hrvatske javnosti. Hrvatski katolički primas, zagrebački nadbiskup i kasniji kardinal Katoličke crkve dr. Alojzije Stepinac u nekoliko je navrata javno osudio žestinu ustaško-četničkih sukoba i njihovih posljedica te nepoštivanje ljudskog života i dostojanstva. Profesor Filip Lukas, predsjednik “Matice hrvatske” i hrvatski nacionalni ideolog (1929.-1941.) također je javno osudio bezakonje u svom govoru na godišnjoj skupštini “Matice hrvatske” početkom

1942. U jesen 1941. hrvatski muslimani su se rezolucijama koje su potpisali ugledni muslimanski građani Sarajeva, Mostara i Banje Luke javno ogradili od zločina. Odgovorni ljudi unutar ustaškog pokreta, posebno oni katoličkog i liberalnog opredjeljenja (za razliku od onih fašističkih ideja), nakon što su uvidjeli da to ne vodi nikuda, izvijestili su dr. Pavelića o cijeloj situaciji iu nekim slučajevima vratili članske iskaznice u znak prosvjeda protiv samozvanih ili “divljih ustaša”.
Pred kraj lipnja 1941. hrvatske redovne vojne snage nisu postojale; formiranje istih započelo je tek u srpnju 1941. nakon što je hrvatska vlada uspjela uvjeriti Rim i Berlin o potrebi uspostave hrvatskih vojnih snaga. Tek potkraj godine sastavljen je plan o osnivanju “Hrvatskog Domobranstva? . [25]Hrvatski Srbi nisu pozivani u nacionalnu službu. Četnici su to iskoristili i vrbovali ih u četničke jedinice. Tijekom prvih mjeseci 1942. postalo je jasno većini vladinih dužnosnika da je gerilski rat zašao u slijepu ulicu. Dr. Pavelić je tada osnovao stožer i na prvom sastanku tamo je postavljen problem njihovog odnosa prema srpskoj manjini. Prema riječima E. “Dide” Kvaternika, svi prisutni članovi vlade i predstavnici vojnih snaga složili su se da je pravi trenutak za izglađivanje sukoba sa Srbima. Dr. Pavelić je istaknuo da će se kao prvi korak prema toj pacifikaciji uspostaviti Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva. Ubrzo nakon toga dolazi već citirani govor dr. Pavelića u Saboru 28. veljače 1942. koji kao rješenje predlaže tu mogućnost. Pitanje osnutka Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve raspravljalo se u ožujku 1942. u Ministarstvu pravosuđa i vjera kada se dr. Vinko Krišković hrabro zauzeo za liberalnu promjenu pravnog položaja Srba u Hrvatskoj na temelju ljudskih prava, slobode vjeroispovijesti, etike i morala.
U to sam vrijeme bio u Srijemu. Po nacionalnosti sam Srbin (a ne pravoslavni Hrvat kako neki misle), rođen u Beogradu 1910. godine. Moji preci su došli iz Neuzina u Banatu. Nakon što sam stekao zvanje odvjetnika, dugi niz godina proveo sam u službi Srpske pravoslavne crkve, najprije kao pravosudni pripravnik, a kasnije kao pravni savjetnik u Srijemskim Karlovcima. Za vrijeme rata, u travnju 1941. godine, služio sam u jugoslavenskoj vojsci kao pravnik s činom kapetana prve klase. Uspio sam pobjeći iz zarobljeništva, ali kada je Srijem u listopadu 1941. uključen u Nezavisnu Državu Hrvatsku bio sam zatvoren, a kasnije pušten na intervenciju mojih hrvatskih prijatelja. Prije uključenja u Nezavisnu Državu Hrvatsku Srijem je, kao i Srbija, bio pod njemačkom okupacijom. U travnju 1941. Nijemci su uhitili patrijarha Srpske pravoslavne crkve Gavrila Dožića u manastiru Ostrog u Crnoj Gori. Zbog odbijanja suradnje s Nijemcima bio je u internaciji za vrijeme rata. U novonastaloj situaciji sinod je izabrao mitropolita skopskog Josifa Cvijovića za zamjenika patrijarha Gavrila na području Srbije. Za to vrijeme Nijemci su iz Srijema odnijeli dio crkvenog arhiva i dragocjenosti. Preko mitropolita Josifa, koji je održavao vezu s patrijarhom Gavrilom i bio njegov bliski suradnik, patrijarh je poručio da se zbog novonastale situacije učini sve da se pravoslavne stvari u novoj hrvatskoj državi normaliziraju. Na temelju te direktive, spomenutog govora dr. Pavelića i hrabrog istupa dr. Krišković u Hrvatskom saboru, uspostavljeni su prvi kontakti s vlastima Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, preko vlč. AR Glavaš [26], tajnik Odjela za vjere u Ministarstvu pravosuđa i vjera. Budući da vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske nisu htjele voditi izravne razgovore sa Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom niti s njezinim pravnim zastupnikom Josifom, zamoljen sam kao laik da pristupim pregovorima.

Iduće me tri puta primio dr. Pavelić. Na prvom sastanku, koji je trajao tri i pol sata, razgovarali smo o Ustavu Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve koji sam izradio na temelju Ustava Srpske pravoslavne crkve od 16. studenoga 1931., uglavnom mijenjajući reference s bivše države, vlasti i narodnosti na novu državu, vlast i narodnost. Održana su još dva sastanka, uglavnom radi dodatnih revizija i razgovora o kandidatu koji će dobiti najvišu hijerarhijsku poziciju. U pregovorima i razgovorima inzistirao sam i ustrajao na pravnim i kanonskim aspektima, koji su mi bili uslišeni. Zanimanje dr. Pavelića bilo je usmjereno uglavnom na jezične i simboličke stvari, jer moje poznavanje hrvatskog književnog jezika i pravopisa te hrvatske povijesti nije bilo dovoljno.
Tijekom pregovora u Zagrebu vidio sam da me određene osobe prate i špijuniraju, pa su mi dodijeljena dva tjelohranitelja. Kasnije se pokazalo da su se za cijeli slučaj zainteresirali Mađari, Nijemci i Englezi, nadajući se da će u njemu pronaći politički aspekt, ali kad su vidjeli da je samo vjerske prirode, izgubili su interes. Na pretpostavku Fikrete Jelić-Butić [27] da je ideja o Hrvatskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi "vjerojatno potekla prije svega od Nijemaca" na temelju izvješća A. Hefera i izjave S. Kaschea (njemačkog veleposlanika u NDH), moram reći da sam sve svoje aktivnosti provodio isključivo s hrvatskim vlastima i da nije bilo nikakvih naznaka da su Nijemci umiješani, odnosno da su oni dali inicijativu.
Dana 31. ožujka 1942., uoči katoličkog Uskrsa, u glasilu "Narodne novine" pod brojem XC-817-Z-1942 objavljena je kratka "Odredba zakona o hrvatskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi" koju su potpisali ministar pravosuđa i bogoštovlja dr. Mirko Puk i državni poglavar, po kojoj je uspostavljena pravoslavna crkva u Hrvatskoj. Ubrzo nakon ove pravne obavijesti krenulo se s radom na uređenju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, a konačno ustrojstvo i djelovanje utvrđeno je Ustavom Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve koji je stupio na snagu 5. lipnja 1942. pod brojem CLXIV-1386-Z-1942. Ustrojstvo Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve bilo je, sukladno njezinu ustavu, autokefalno i episkopalno. Njegovi crkveno-hijerarhijski i samostalni organi bili su patrijarh Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i mitropolit zagrebački, Sveti arhiđakonski sinod, visoki crkveni sud, episkopat, župni crkveni sudovi, arhiđakonski velikodostojnici, svećenici i crkvena upravna vijeća. Administrativno je Crkva bila podijeljena na eparhije, arhiđakonate i župe. U dogmatskom i kanonskom pravu Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva temeljila se na Svetom pismu i na svetoj predaji u skladu s naukom svetog pravoslavlja i na kanonima općih crkvenih sinoda, a upravno na Ustavu Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve te na odlukama i naredbama ustavom ovlaštenih crkvenih oblasti.
Uz formuliranje i proglašenje ustava Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, važan je bio odabir odgovarajuće osobe odgovarajućeg ranga i kvalifikacija za mitropolita, a za to je bilo potrebno savjetovanje i dogovor s nekoliko visokih osoba u pravoslavnoj hijerarhiji. Dok se raspravljalo o ustavu Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, stupio sam u kontakt s uglednicima koji su bili voljni prihvatiti tu dužnost i status i koji su imali sve potrebne duhovne kvalifikacije. Osoba koja je već imala titulu mitropolita, a koja se odazvala pozivu, bio je visokopreosvećeni Germogen, bivši mitropolit novomoskovski sa Kubana. Mitropolit Germogen je po izlasku iz sjemeništa pohađao Bogoslovsku akademiju, postao ministrant i župnik. Kasnije je postao profesor, a potom i rektor Teološkog fakulteta u Saratovu. Oženjen i otac brojne obitelji, nakon ženine smrti stupio je u samostan. Kasnije postaje arhimandrit i biran je za zamenika

episkopa u Donskoj eparhiji. Tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata izabran je za Jekaterinoslavskog i Novomoskovskog nadbiskupa. Napustio je Rusiju tijekom revolucije i proveo neko vrijeme u Grčkoj, na otoku Lemnosu i na planini Atos. Godine 1922. dolazi u Kraljevinu SHS i boravi u manastirima Ravanici, Rakovcu, a prije Drugog svjetskog rata u manastiru Hopovo u Srijemu. Prema Ustavu Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, au dogovoru s ekumenskim carigradskim patrijarhom, na čelu Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve u Zagrebu bio bi patrijarh. Tu je dužnost, međutim, zbog ratnih okolnosti preuzeo visokoprečasni Germogen u rangu mitropolita. Daljnji dogovori ostavljeni su za budućnost. O osnivanju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i izboru mitropolita Germogena obaviještene su Rumunjska, Bugarska i Grčka pravoslavna crkva, kao i Ekumenski patrijarhat u Carigradu. O pregovorima, ali i konačnom ishodu, neslužbeno su bili obaviješteni i patrijarh srpsko-pravoslavni Gavrilo Dožić, koji je u to vrijeme bio u internaciji, i njegov zamjenik, mitropolit Josif Cvijović. Patrijarh Dožić se složio s izborom mitropolita Germogena, ali je bio protiv njegovog imenovanja za patrijarha. U tom pogledu bio je zadovoljan. Neki su se kritički osvrnuli na izbor mitropolita Germogena zbog njegove duboke starosti i zbog njegovog ruskog porijekla, te su pisali da je “izvučen iz manastira Hopovo”. Prvo, mitropolit Germogen živio je monaškim životom i bio je daleko od toga da bude ambiciozan; njegove visoke duhovne i moralne kvalifikacije bile su neupitne. Stoga je prihvaćanje najviše arhijerejske službe Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve za njega bila žrtva. Prihvatio ga je samo iz vjerskih i humanitarnih razloga. Znao je da, zbog svojih godina,on vjerojatno nikad ne bi postao patrijarh i da bi bilo logično tu dužnost dati domaćem sinu. Njegovo rusko podrijetlo bilo je kompromis. Pravoslavnih svećenika hrvatskog podrijetla bilo je malo pa je izbor među njima bio ograničen. S druge strane, članovima visoke srpske hijerarhije još je trebalo vremena da prebrode traumu nove države i novonastale situacije, dok se mlađi, koji su se brzo prilagodili novim uvjetima, nisu mogli uzeti u obzir iz očitog razloga njihove mladosti i nedostatka iskustva.

DJELOVANJE HRVATSKE PRAVOSLAVNE CRKVE OD SRPNJA 1942. DO SVIBNJA 1945. GODINE

Dana 7. lipnja 1942. godine u pravoslavnoj crkvi Svetog Preobraženja na Preradovićevom trgu u Zagrebu obavljeno je svečano ustoličenje Preosvećenog Germogena za mitropolita Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, koji je također preuzeo kanonski posjed mitropolije. Toga dana pred crkvom je bila postrojena počasna straža i svirači, au njoj su se okupili brojni vjernici, uz svećenstvo u svečanom ruhu. Vladu su zastupali predsjednik Hrvatskog državnog sabora Marko Dogen, tajnik Ministarstva pravosuđa i bogoštovlja i ministar poljoprivrede Jozo Dumandžić, zagrebački gradonačelnik Ivan Werner, državni protonotar dr. Ivan Majcen, meštar pukovnik Machiedo, predstavnik zagrebačke pravoslavne općine g. Petar Lazić itd. Stigao je prečasni Germogen u pratnji svoga tajnica, ja. Čin ustoličenja obavljen je po propisanom obredu i uz učešće pravoslavnih sveštenika, igumana Platona, Vase Šurlana, Serafima Kubčevskog, Venjamina Pavlovskog, Joce Cvijanovića, Mirona Federera i protođakona Alekseja Borisova. Ministar Dumandžić održao je govor i pročitao ukaz Poglavnika o imenovanju Preosvećenog Germogena mitropolitom Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve sa sjedištem u Zagrebu (ukaz br. 6034-B-1942). U svom govoru dr. Dumandžić je rekao da se pri osnivanju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve vodilo načelo izraženo u hrvatskoj

narodnoj poslovici “Brat je mio koje vjere bio”. Naglasio je i da je hrvatski narod uvijek pokazivao vjersku toleranciju te da su stoljećima katolici i Hrvati muslimani živjeli u slozi i ljubavi s pravoslavcima. “Sigurno je da će svi oni i ubuduće jednako voljeti svoju domovinu hrvatsku s kojom su usko vezani domom i obiteljima, grobovima svojih pradjedova i kolijevkama svoje djece, te ostati njezini vjerni sinovi”. Nastavio je te istaknuo kako Ustav Hrvatskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi jamči široku autonomiju i nesmetano duhovno djelovanje u skladu s načelima pravoslavne vjere. Sutradan, 8. lipnja 1942. godine, mitropolit Germogen položio je svoju zakletvu. Nakon svečanosti uslijedio je domjenak na kojemu je nazočio i šef države zajedno s Kabinetom na čelu s dr. Džaferbegom Kulenovićem i mitropolitom sa svojom pratnjom, među kojima sam bio i ja, te predstavnici Zagrebačke eparhije i Crkvene općine vlč. Joco Cvijanović Petar Lazić, Đuro Jukić, Teodor Vukadinović i iguman Miron Federer.

Osnivanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve imalo je neposredne i vrlo pozitivne rezultate. Iz raznih logora i zatvora (Sisak, Slavonski Brod i dr.) pušteno je oko 3000 pravoslavnih zatočenika, a jedan broj svećenika koji nisu emigrirali u Srbiju vratio se iz logora u Capragu svojoj pastvi. Pravoslavne crkve koje su bile zatvorene odmah su ponovo otvorene. Mitropolit Germogen osobno je bio nazočan ponovnom otvaranju crkava u Mitrovici, Rumi, Irigu i Srijemskim Karlovcima. Krštenja i vjenčanja događala su se u velikom broju, a ponekad je u jednom danu kršteno i do 200 djece. Sukladno ustavu, uz zagrebačku metropoliju, osnovane su Brodska, Sarajevska i Bosanskopetrovačka eparhija. Organizacija jedne u Bosanskom Petrovcu nije bila moguća zbog gerilskog rata na tom području. Uslijedile su razne intervencije u korist pravoslavaca, poput one koja se odnosila na oko 600 pravoslavnih pričuvnih časnika koji su trebali biti poslani na prve vatrene crte, ali su bili pošteđeni, a nekima je dopušteno da se vrate kući nakon apela ministru Artukoviću u 1 sat ujutro. Uspostavljeni su prijateljski odnosi s katoličkom i muslimanskom hijerarhijom. Tijekom dvosatnog susreta sa zagrebačkim nadbiskupom, hrvatskim metropolitom prečasnim Alojzijem Stepincem, razgovaralo se o bliskoj suradnji Crkava i ekumenskim temama. Mladim svećenicima i klericima u Srijemu koji su bili pri kraju studija ti su tečajevi bili skraćeni i poslani na upražnjene župe. Ta su imenovanja bila prepuštena isključivo hijerarhiji Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i civilne vlasti nisu se miješale. Tamo gdje su crkve bile porušene ili oštećene, kapele i male grobljanske crkvice stavljene su u funkciju župnih crkava. Dana 10. travnja 1943., povodom proslave osnutka Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, služena su bogoslužja u katoličkim i muslimanskim bogomoljama, kao iu pravoslavnim crkvama. Vrijedno umjetničko blago poput ikonostasa, paravana i ikona iz oštećenih ili srušenih pravoslavnih crkava preneseno je u Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu i sačuvano zahvaljujući djelatnicima muzeja. Izdan je pravoslavni kalendar i tiskani su molitvenici bez ikakvih političkih dodataka; jedina razlika od onih objavljenih prije rata bila je u tome što pismo nije bilo ćirilica nego latinica. Bitni predmeti iz onog dijela arhiva koji Nijemci nisu odnijeli preneseni su u Zagreb, gdje se sada nalazila metropolija. Nekoliko pravoslavnih svećenika istaknulo se u organiziranju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, a novine su uoči Božića 1942. objavile sljedeću objavu: “U povodu Božića, Njegovo Preosveštenstvo Mitropolit zagrebački i cijele Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, Visokopreosvećeni Germogen odlikovao je

za savjesno služenje Crkvi i narodu ove duhovnike: *Baton* : protojereja Evgenija Jarlemskog i protojereja Aleksandra Volkovskog; *Protojereji* : jereji Vasilije Šurlan, Serafim Kubčevski i Anatolije Paradijev; *Igumani* : jereji Sevastijan Perić i Dositej Teodorović i igumani Amvrosije Veselinović i Rafailo Stanivuković; *Naprsni krst* : iguman Miron Federer, protojereji Cvijetin Sović i Risto Babunović; *Crveni pojas*: protojerej Aleksej Borisov, jereji Joca Cvijanović Vasilije Jurčenko, Pavie Kozarski, igumani Vlasmin Pavlovski, Venjamin Radosavljević, Mihajev Milogradski, Dimitrije, Ivan Mračkovski, Evgenij Pogorečki, Petar Popov, Bogdan Popović, Cvjetan Popović, Nikolaj Semčenko, Petar Stefanović, Sergije Selivanovski, Ljubomir Svrtilić i Emilijan Šimatović". Spiridon Mifka, dotadašnji paroh u Visokom, postavljen je na čelo Sarajevske eparhije u kolovozu 1944. To pokazuje da je tvrdnja da je Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva samo "ustaška izmišljotina" koja se "sastoji od samo pet-šest ruskih svećenika" nema utemeljenja. Jasno je da je među gore navedenim istaknutim duhovnicima Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve bilo Hrvata, Srba, Rusa, Ukrajinaca, Makedonaca i Bugara, ali većinom pravoslavnih Srba i Hrvata, a da ne govorimo o mladim svećenicima i onima nižeg arhijerejskog čina. Slično, zaključak Dj. Kašić, u svom djelu *Srbi* i pravoslavlje, da je djelovanje "nekolicine" pravoslavnih svećenika na formiranju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve "bilo neuspješno, jer su Srbi osjetili tendenciju i, da ne budu progonstva, ako su mijenjali svoju Crkvu, bili su spremniji prijeći na rimokatoličku vjeru nego pristupiti ovoj umjetnoj tvorevini" potpuno je besmisleno, jer je poznato da je nakon što je Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva promijenjena. osnovana, nije bilo niti jednog prijelaza na katoličanstvo, te da se jedan broj onih koji su iz straha promijenili vjeroispovijest vratio na pravoslavnu vjeru unutar Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve koja je uspostavljena i normalno funkcionira.

Savjesni povjesničari doći će do zaključka da su osnivanjem Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve stvoreni uvjeti i ozračje u kojima su se mogli učiniti prvi koraci prema pomirenju i smanjenju srpsko-hrvatskih sukoba, te ekscesa izazvanih neodgovornim elementima. Iako Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva nije bila izravno uključena u to, potpisan je sporazum o miru i suradnji između pojedinih četničkih jedinica i vojnih i civilnih vlasti NDH. Nakon 1942. godine građanski rat vodio se uglavnom između partizansko-komunističkih snaga pretežno jugoslavenske orijentacije s jedne strane i nacionalističkih Hrvata, Srba itd. s druge strane. Također treba spomenuti da su 1943. godine formirane *Dora pukovnije* (domobranske radne pukovnije), po jedna na području svake vojne oblasti, u koje su unovačeni prvenstveno pravoslavni Srbi i oni pravoslavni Hrvati iz Srijema i Slavonije, koji do tada nisu bili pozivani u vojnu službu. Ideja je bila postupno stvaranje međusobnog povjerenja između pravoslavnih i nepravoslavnih građana, Hrvata i Srba, na vojnom polju.

Ostao sam u službi mitropolita Germogena kao njegov tajnik do sredine 1944. godine, kada je došlo do nesporazuma između mene i nekolicine pravoslavaca u Zagrebu. Kako bih spriječio sukob, odlučio sam dati ostavku i otišao u Bačku, koja je u to vrijeme bila pod mađarskom vlašću. Kraj rata zatekao me u Novom Sadu, gdje sam najprije uhićen, a kasnije pušten, kada sam objasnio vjerske i humanitarne motive koji su me naveli da sudjelujem u osnivanju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve. Kasnije sam emigrirao. Neki istaknuti vojvođanski komunisti, kasnije visoki funkcioneri, i ministar koji je bio u zatvoru 1941./42., a svi su zadužili svoje živote za formiranje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, intervenirali su za mene kada

sam bio uhićen 1945.
Mitropolit Germogen, već 85-godišnjak, nije se povukao na Zapad na kraju rata kada je ukinuta NDH, a uhićen je od nove partizanske vlasti u svibnju 1945. zajedno s protojerejem Aleksejem Borisovim. Obojica su smaknuti. Smatram da su to učinili velikosrpski fanatični, šovinistički i nekomunistički elementi, jer se ne može objasniti zašto bi istinski komunisti bili zainteresirani za vjerske hijerarhijske probleme i za osvete vjerske naravi. Po mom mišljenju, velika je greška nove vlasti što je dopustila da se dogodi ovaj zločin. Istaknuti svećenici Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve koji nisu uspjeli pobjeći bili su izloženi teškim progonima i gotovo svi su izgubili živote.
Iz gore prikazane povijesti Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve jasno je da su brojni članci koji su se bavili ovom temom pogrešni i neistiniti. Primjerice, u natuknici *Ustaše* u *Jugoslavenskoj enciklopediji*, navodi povjesničar Ljubo Boban; "Ideja je bila smanjiti broj pravoslavnog stanovništva pokatoličavanjem dijela tog stanovništva. Ali prisilno pokatoličavanje Srba nije dalo rezultata, kao što nije dalo rezultata ni manipuliranje Hrvatskom pravoslavnom crkvom, ustaškom tvorevinom iz travnja 1942. godine". Ova Bobanova nekritička i konfuzna tvrdnja, koji miješa vjerske i nacionalne pojmove, nedostojna je povjesničara kakav je kasnije postao. On govori o smanjivanju i pokatoličavanju pravoslavnog stanovništva, iako je poznato da cilj ustaškog napada 1941. godine nije bio usmjeren protiv pravoslavne vjere (ustaše su prema njoj bile ravnodušne), već protiv Srba, prvenstveno protiv velikosrba, a tek preko njih protiv srpskog pravoslavlja. Boban kaže da "nasilno katoličenje Srba" (sada govori o Srbima, a ne o pravoslavcima) i "manipulacija Hrvatskom pravoslavnom crkvom nije dalo rezultata". Ako „pokatoličenje" (koje u većini slučajeva nije bilo prisilno nego traženo i prihvaćeno od strane nekih Srba iz straha, traženja zaštite ili želje da se izjednače s većinom) nije uspjelo (što je istina), onda možemo biti zahvalni „manipulaciji" Hrvatskom pravoslavnom crkvom i njezinom uspjehu, a ne neuspjehu, jer kad je HPC osnovana, katoličanstvo je momentalno prestalo, a velika većina onih koji su promijenili vjeru vratili su se na pravoslavnu vjeru unutar Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve.
Tendenciozan je i neistinit komentar visokog ustaškog dužnosnika E. "Dide" Kvaternika o Hrvatskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi kada kaže: "Pravoslavna crkva je uspostavljena kao Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva s čistom antikatoličkom tendencijom. Na čelo joj je postavljen Rus, a ne Srbin. Rusko-hrvatska pravoslavna crkva nije bila mila za Srbe". Ako je pravoslavlje ikada imalo problema u Hrvatskoj, bilo je to tijekom 1941. godine, zbog sukoba između ustaša i četnika. Jedan od vodećih eksponenata sukoba bio je "Dido" Kvaternik na ustaškoj strani. Formiranje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i njezin odnos s Katoličkom crkvom u Hrvatskoj pokazuje da Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva nije nastala s "antikatoličkim tendencijama", niti joj je bila namjera "privući" Srbe. Bilo je to rješenje problema ispovijedanja pravoslavne vjere na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske za sve pravoslavne Srbe, Hrvate, Ukrajince, Ruse, Crnogorce, Makedonce itd., budući da nije bilo dopušteno djelovanje Srpske pravoslavne crkve, Crkve susjedne države Srbije. Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva bila je višenacionalna po sastavu svojih sljedbenika i hijerarhiji. Relativno umjerena knjiga Pavla Ostovića sadrži i sljedeću neistinu: "Nad nedužnim stanovništvom samo zato što je pravoslavno vršena su strašna okrutnosti". Najbolji odgovor P. Ostoviću daje njegov partijski prvak dr. Vlatko Maček

u svojoj knjizi [28] : “Da ustaše nisu progonile Srbe iz vjerskih razloga, najbolji je dokaz to što su oni sami 1942. godine osnovali Hrvatsku pravoslavnu crkvu na čelu s ruskim emigrantskim episkopom”.

RETROSPEKTIVNI ZAKLJUČCI

Iz prethodno opisanog pregleda povijesti pravoslavlja u Hrvata dalo bi se zaključiti da su nakon raskola kršćanstva Hrvati ostali u Zapadnoj, a Srbi u Istočnoj Crkvi, a današnji Crnogorci (Diokleja, Zeta), dijelom u Zapadnoj, a dijelom u Istočnoj Crkvi. Širenjem srpske države za vrijeme vladavine Nemanjića, katolici iz današnje Istočne Hercegovine i iz Crne Gore (stare Crvene Hrvatske) potisnuti su na uzak primorski pojas do Dubrovačke Republike i do Kotorsko-Crnogorskog primorja.

Turski prodor u Hrvatsku u 15. stoljeću i dvjesto godina ratišta usred Hrvatske, (Turska Hrvatska) [29], rezultiralo je prelaskom jednog broja Hrvata na islam, te naseljavanjem opustošenih i napuštenih krajeva središnje Hrvatske pravoslavnim stanovništvom iz balkanskog zaleđa, uglavnom preseljenim Vlasima, stočarima i seljacima, stanovništvom romanskog podrijetla. To je bio razlog da se hrvatske zemlje, prije turske invazije vjerski i etnički homogene, isprepliću i vjerski (katolici, pravoslavci, muslimani) i etnički (Hrvati, Vlasi i razne druge balkanske narodnosti).

Iseljavanjem Srba na sjever početkom 18. stoljeća (Srijem, Vojvodina i južna Ugarska) na hrvatsko područje dolazi velika kompaktna skupina Srba ekavskog govora, zajedno sa srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom u povlačenju (karlovačka mitropolija) koja je u sljedeća dva stoljeća uspjela hijerarhijski ovladati pravoslavnim Vlasima i Hrvatima, au 19. stoljeću i nad srbizacija najvećeg dijela njih, jednostavno jednadžbom: pravoslavac = Srbin. Tako je i vjerski mozaik u središnjim hrvatskim krajevima postao etnička mješavina Hrvata i Srba. Na to je starčevićanski moderni hrvatski nacionalizam odgovorio zagovaranjem ideje o Hrvatima kao viševjerskoj naciji katolika, pravoslavaca i muslimana. Identifikacija s pravoslavljem spriječila je Srbe u formiranju viševjerske nacije, dok među Hrvatima ima Hrvata katolika, Hrvata muslimana i Hrvata pravoslavaca, koji su u vjerskom pogledu podređeni srpskom pravoslavlju.

Sukob između modernog hrvatskog i modernog srpskog nacionalizma nastao je u mješovitim područjima na koja su (veliko)srbi, a i Hrvati, polagali pravo na temelju povijesnih prava. U predratnoj Jugoslaviji napetost je rasla, što je rezultiralo srpskom dominacijom u toj državi. Osnutkom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 1941. godine u mješovitim krajevima počinje sukob između ekstremnih nacionalističkih organizacija, ustaša i četnika. U tom sukobu neodgovorni elementi pod četničkim ili ustaškim barjacima krenuli su u progon manjinskih skupina, a pritom su stradale sve tri vjere – katolicizam, pravoslavlje i islam. Budući da vlada NDH nije priznala Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu jer je bila nacionalna crkva Srba i susjedne države Srbije, pravoslavlje u Hrvatskoj je 1941. ostalo bez vodstva. Problem je riješen 1942. osnivanjem Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve.

Na temelju navedene analize i iz našeg osobnog sudjelovanja u događajima zaključujemo, uvažavajući sve teškoće, da je postojanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, od 1942. do 1945. godine, bilo pozitivno za sve pravoslavne Srbe, Hrvate i druge narodnosti na tlu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, s vjerskog i s humanitarnog stajališta. Također u pomirenju i smanjivanju

hrvatsko-srpskog sukoba uzrokovanog greškama iz prošlosti i ustaško-četničkim sukobom. Na taj način je nakon 1941. međusobni sukob smanjen, au nekim krajevima postignut sporazum. Za pravoslavne Srbe Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva nudila je sigurnost i privremeno vjersko rješenje pod autoritarnim režimom koji nije trpio Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu, nacionalnu Crkvu pravoslavnih Hrvata, Crkva je bila dugo priželjkivano, a do sada spriječavano rješenje za njihovu dilemu: hrvatski nacionalni osjećaj i odanost hrvatskoj domovini s jedne strane, i jedinu pravoslavnu crkvu u Hrvatskoj koja je bila isključivo srpska nacionalna, s druge strane.

Za žaljenje je što zbog kratkovidnog stava nekih velikosrpskih šovinista u Hrvatskoj nije spriječeno ukidanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i Crkva je ostavljena da nastavi s revidiranim ustavom (naravno za one pravoslavce koji su htjeli ostati), u prvom redu za Hrvate pravoslavne vjere, bez obzira na njihovu brojnost. To ne znači da obnovljena Srpska pravoslavna crkva ne bi mogla koegzistirati s Hrvatskom pravoslavnom crkvom za pravoslavce srpske nacionalnosti, jer puna vjerska sloboda znači toleranciju i suživot, a ne isključivost i monopol Crkava.

Čini se apsurdnim, ali treba spomenuti, da je komunistički sustav bio do te mjere pristran prema postojanju Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve da je zauzeo stajalište militantne intervencije za isključivost Srpske pravoslavne crkve, kao jedine pravoslavne crkve, na području naseljenom Hrvatima i Srbima u Hrvatskoj i protiv tolerancije i suživota raznih pravoslavnih crkava. To je kasnije ispravljeno u pogledu Makedonske pravoslavne crkve, ali ideja centraliziranog pravoslavlja, nažalost, još uvijek prevladava u ostatku Jugoslavije. Svatko tko je pravoslavne vjere tko nije ni Srbin ni Makedonac, a to znači i pripadnik bilo koje druge narodnosti u Jugoslaviji (Slovenac, Hrvat, Crnogorac, Albanac, Ukrajinac itd.), može ispovijedati svoju pravoslavnu vjeru samo kao pripadnik Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Dosadašnja iskustva i sadašnja zbivanja uče nas da osjetljive probleme vjere i nacionalnosti treba rješavati dok još ima vremena, a ne kad su buknuli punim nasiljem. Netolerantna velikosrpska isključivost po kojoj su svi pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini samo Srbi, te donkihotske tvrdnje nekih hrvatskih emigrantskih krugova da su svi pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj samo Hrvati, nije realna. Na području ovih republika ima i pravoslavnih Srba i pravoslavnih Hrvata. Točan broj znat će se tek kada zavlada ozračje pune vjerske i nacionalne slobode.

RAZMATRANJA O BUDUĆNOSTI

Povijest i razvoj pravoslavlja u Hrvatskoj, nedavna mučna i tragična iskustva, sudbina Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve i još uvijek neriješeni problem slobode ispovijedanja pravoslavne vjere u Hrvatskoj, frustrirani isključivim teritorijalnim pravima Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Hrvatskoj, trebaju biti razlog za zabrinutost svih odgovornih, kako se u kritičnim trenucima u budućnosti ne ponove iste pogreške. Teško je razumjeti zašto se Srpska pravoslavna crkva čvrsto drži svojih stečenih prava u Hrvatskoj i onemogućuje normalan razvoj slobodnog ispovijedanja pravoslavne vjere i postojanje drugih pravoslavnih crkava. Ako bi Pravoslavna Crkva za Hrvate, za nesrpske pravoslavce i za one Srbe koji su joj slobodno pristupili, bila malobrojna pored velike Srpske Crkve, onda ne vidimo zašto ima potrebe da se SPC boji, pogotovo ako Pravoslavna Crkva u Hrvatskoj ne polaže isključiva teritorijalna prava. Velika je

potreba da se u Hrvatskoj osnuje pravoslavna crkva općeg nesrpskog karaktera. Ta Crkva ne mora biti novo izdanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, utemeljene u teškim ratnim okolnostima pod autoritarnim režimom, što se u određenoj mjeri odrazilo i na ustroj Crkve. Mogla bi se osnovati ili po uzoru na Makedonsku pravoslavnu crkvu tj. kroz teritorijalno odvajanje od Srpske pravoslavne crkve; ili kao nova crkvena jedinica uz Srpsku pravoslavnu crkvu u Hrvatskoj, nastala jednostavno na temeljima i primjeru odvojenosti crkve od države i državnog ustava koji jamči slobodu vjeroispovijesti. Prvi koraci koje treba poduzeti su a) odgoj nove generacije svećenika u Makedonskoj, ili bilo kojoj drugoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, budući da je predsvjetskoratna generacija hrvatskih pravoslavnih svećenika grčko-istočne desnice već umrla, a trogodišnje djelovanje Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve nije uspjelo odgojiti veći broj svećenika; b) osnivanje odbora za osnivanje nove Crkve; c) nalaženje katedrale za utemeljenje zagrebačke nadbiskupije; d) ustroj crkvenog narodnog vijeća za izbor nadbiskupa i izradu nacrta ustava, koji bi između ostaloga odredio i ime nove Crkve. Takva crkva, kao ni svaka druga pravoslavna crkva, ne bi bila monopolistička i ne bi predstavljala nikakvu opasnost za bilo koga, jer bi vlast uvijek imala zadnju riječ u onim aktivnostima koje nisu vjerske naravi ili su u suprotnosti s ustavom.

BILJEŠKE

[1] Crvena Hrvatska: približno područje Hercegovine i dijela Crne Gore uz obalu.

[2]Ijekavsko-štokavski: hrvatski jezik sastoji se od triju dijalektalnih skupina koje se razlikuju po svojim riječima za “što?”: sto, ca i kaj. Odatle i nazivi ovih dijalekata: štokavski, čakavski i kajkavski. Druga klasifikacija hrvatskih dijalekata napravljena je na temelju trostrukog razvoja općeslavenskog glasa jat: e, i, (i)je. Odatle nazivi ekavski, Ikavski i (i)jekavski. Dok je srpski književni jezik štokavski i ekavski, hrvatski je književni jezik štokavski i (i)jekavski.

[3] Bosanska krajina: područje između rijeka Une i Vrbasa.

[4] Banska Hrvatska: područje koje je ostalo od Hrvatske nakon turske provale i mletačke aneksije Dalmacije; pod jurisdikcijom bana (potkralja) i Sabora (Hrvatskog sabora).

[5] Vojna Krajina (Vojna krajina): ono područje Hrvatske koje čini vojno obrambeno područje uspostavljeno za suzbijanje turskih napada; izvan banove nadležnosti.

[6] Prema popisu iz 1971.

[7] Dalmatinska ili bizantska tema (provincija): gradovi Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik i Kotor te otok Krk, Osor (Cres i Lošinj) i Rab, pod vlašću Bizanta u ranom srednjem vijeku.

[8] *Praveslavlje* , *Enciklopedija Leksikografskog zavoda* , sv. 5, LZ, Zagreb, 1969.

[9] Dr. Ante Pavelić (1889.-1959.), utemeljitelj nacionalističke ustaške organizacije 1931.; vođa Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od travnja 1941. do svibnja 1945.

[10] *Spomen-knjiga prve obijetnice Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 10. 4. 1941. – 10. 4. 1942.* (Spomen-knjiga prve obljetnice NDH, 10. travnja 1941. do 10. travnja 1942.), Državni ured za Informiranje i promidžba, Zagreb, 1942.

[11] Isto.

[12] Dr. Ante Starčević (1823.-1896.), hrvatski političar, utemeljitelj Stranke prava.

[13] Kao fusnota 10.

[14] Kao fusnota 10.

[15] Postojanje ove okružnice svjedoči nadbiskup Stepinac u svom pismu dr. Paveliću od 20.

studenog 1941., u kojem se spominje okružnica od 30. kolovoza 1941. i u kojem nadbiskup kaže: “Vi ste sami javno osudili zločine. počinili pojedinci koji su sebe nazivali ustašama i koje ste vi naredili strijeljati za njihove zločine. Vaš odlučan stav da uvedete red i pravdu u zemlju zaslužuje puno priznanje”.

[16] Kao fusnota 10.

[17]Hrvatsko-ugarska personalna unija, poznata i kao “Pacta Conventa”: ugovor iz 1102. godine kojim je Hrvatska postala pridruženo ili autonomno kraljevstvo pod vrhovništvom ugarske krune.

[18] Eugen Kvaternik (1825.-1871.), hrvatski političar; s Antom Starčevićem suosnivač Stranke prava; 1871. pokušan i neuspješan ustanak u Rakovici, Hrvatska.

[19] Stjepan Radić (1871.-1928.), hrvatski političar; s bratom Antom suosnivač Hrvatske seljačke stranke 1904.; strijeljan i smrtno ranjen u beogradskoj skupštini.

[20] dr. Vlatko Maček (1879.-1964.), hrvatski političar; Radićev nasljednik na čelu Hrvatske seljačke stranke; umro u emigraciji u SAD-u.

[21] Aleksandar Karađorđević, kralj Jugoslavije; ubijen u Marseilleu 1934.

[22] Kako ustaški pokret prije osnutka NDH nije bio brojan, u mnogim krajevima nije bilo organiziranih ustaša iz predratnog vremena. Ako je Hrvatska seljačka stranka bila slaba, ili čak nepostojeća, u pojedinim područjima nove države, to je omogućilo neodgovornim elementima da nose ustašku odoru i da se deklariraju kao ustaše. Ove nedisciplinirane samozvane i samozvane ustaše bile su sumnjivog karaktera i ustaške vlasti su ih nazivale “divljim ustašama” ili “nastašama” i činile sve da ih eliminiraju, uključujući i pogubljenja za zločine.

[23] Dr. V. Macek u svojoj knjizi *U borbi za slobodu* kaže da komunisti nisu istraživali razloge zašto su katolički svećenici primali obraćenike, nego su ih zbog toga progonili. “Posebno u slučaju svećenika iz Sarajeva koji je rekao pravoslavcima: 'Djeco, vaša majka, pravoslavna crkva, je u nevolji i ne može se brinuti za vas. Došla si u Katoličku Crkvu, tvoja teta, i kad ti majka ozdravi, vratit ćeš se k njoj.' Za nagradu svećenik je nakon rata osuđen na smrt”.

[24] Dok je na izričit zahtjev dr. Mačeka, potpredsjednika jugoslavenske vlade, pukovnik Ivan Prpić promaknut u čin generala, kao jedini Hrvat s tim činom u jugoslavenskoj vojsci prije rata, pravoslavni časnici obnašali su najviše dužnosti u Hrvatskoj vojsci tijekom rata, uključujući i tri spomenuta generala. I među ustašama je bilo časnika pravoslavne vjere, kao na primjer natporučnik Marković.

[25] Hrvatsko domobranstvo (Hrvatsko domobranstvo): redovita hrvatska vojna snaga.

[26]Sjećam se fra. Glavaš s velikom ljubavlju. Od samog početka bilo je jasno da je riječ o vrlo kulturnom i profinjenom čovjeku (osim svećenika bio je i učitelj i književni kritičar). Iskreno je želio da se problem pravoslavlja riješi na ispravan način i na zadovoljstvo svih. Rekao je kako Katolička crkva ne voli miješanje države u crkvena pitanja, tako se država ne bi trebala miješati ni u druge konfesije. Njegova je zasluga što vlast nije bila u velikoj mjeri uključena u imenovanja za HPC. Bez ikakve krivnje nije se povukao u svibnju 1945., ali se njegovo ime nalazi na prvom popisu pogubljenih od strane partizana u Zagrebu.

[27] Jelić-Butić, F.: *Ustaše i NDH, 1941.* -1945., Liber i školska knjiga, Publishers, Zagreb,

1977.

[28] Macek, V.: *U borbi za slobodu* , Robert Speller i sinovi, Publishers, New York, 1957.

[29] Turska Hrvatska: sjeverozapadna Bosna između Une i Vrbasa.

Development Of Orthodoxy In Croatia And The Croatian Orthodox Church

cuvalo.net/2008/04/18/development-of-orthodoxy-in-croatia-and-the-croatian-orthodox-church

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On the 4th of April 1942, almost a year after the Independent State of Croatia was founded, newspapers published a government statute No. XC-800- Z-1942 announcing the establishment of the Croatian Orthodox Church. On the 5th of June, on the basis of this statute, the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church was approved, and on the 7th of June the Most Rev. Germogen was enthroned as the first Orthodox Metropolitan of Zagreb. The Croatian Orthodox Church was active in Croatia until the end of the war when it was suppressed by the new Yugoslav authorities and the Metropolitan Germogen was executed. I actively participated in the founding of the Croatian Orthodox Church, writing the church's constitution, negotiating with the Croatian authorities and was secretary to Metropolitan Germogen.

The time has come to tell the truth, calmly and objectively, about the founding of the Church and the function which the Croatian Orthodox Church performed during the Second World War in the Independent State of Croatia. For a better understanding of how this autocephalous Church came into being a short historical survey of the development of Orthodoxy in Croatian territories is required (the present day Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORTHODOXY AMONG THE CROATS

BEFORE THE TURKISH CONQUEST Before the final schism with Rome in 1054 the old Patriarchate of Constantinople did not extend to the lands settled by the Croats with the exception of some parts of Dioclea: the territories west of the river Drina and west of the town of Budva were outside of the Eastern Patriarchate. Even at the time of Photius's schism (863-923), when the Metropolitan of Split looked eastward, he nevertheless remained outside the jurisdiction of Constantinople but was subordinate to the Aquileian Patriarchate. The situation did not change when the Bulgarians created a patriarchate in Ohrid (927-1018), nor was it affected by the split of Christianity in 1054 into the Western or Roman Catholic Church and Eastern or Orthodox Church.

The first penetration of Orthodoxy into Croat territories occurred at the beginning of the 13th century following the conquest of Red Croatia (Dioclea or Zeta, Travunja and Zahumlje) [1] by Stevan Nemanja, the Grand Count of Rascia (Serbia), and by his son Stevan, already

crowned king of Serbia. In 1219 Sava Nemanjic founded the Serbian Orthodox Church and established two episcopal sees (Ston and Prevlaka/Kotor) on Croatian Catholic territory. The one in Ston was short lived due to the lack of an Orthodox population in that area, while the other survived until 1485, when it was transferred to Cetinje in present day Montenegro. In the meantime, the Serbian Orthodox Church in the territories of present day East Herzegovina and Montenegro, with support from the Serbian State, and with sporadic pressure, including forcible conversions, succeeded in limiting Catholicism to a narrow stretch of land along the coast. During the Turkish domination in this region the process of conversion to the Orthodox faith resulted in the disappearance of Roman Catholicism from Montenegro about the year 1650, and in reducing the Croatian Catholic population in the coastal region to small pockets around the city of Kotor. Catholicism survived along the Dubrovnik coast, protected by the boundaries of the Dubrovnik Republic. There was no Orthodoxy, prior to the Turkish invasion, among the Croats in Bosnia (west of the rivers Drina and Neretva) and in Srijem (north of the river Sava).

THE PERIOD OF TURKISH RULE With the Turkish advancements, the first Vlachs (nomadic herdsmen originating in a region called Old Vlach east of the river Drina), appeared in the territory of East Bosnia. Descendants of the old Roman population from the Balkan Peninsula, they were Orthodox (unlike the Croatian Catholic Vlachs in the Dinaric-Velebit region) and were known in various regions and at different times as Arumanians, Czinczars, Riscani, Rkaci and Eastern-Greeks. With the rapid fall of the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463 and the Turkish advancement into Croatia, irregular military supporting units of Vlachs, called Martholosen, were brought by the Turks to the newly conquered territories. They also came to settle and work the land in central Croatia which had been depopulated as a result of the constant fighting. These Orthodox settlers were predominantly Vlach herdsmen, partly slavonicized, and came from the central Balkan regions: Greece, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, Montenegro and East Herzegovina. The strong migratory movements of the Vlachs affected a number of other nationalities: Montenegrins, Serbs (Rascians), Macedonians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks and also Croats (Uskoks, Prebjezi, Bunjevci, Predavci). The language of the Vlachs, apart from Vlacho-Romanian, was predominantly a Ijekavian-Neostokavian [2] dialect, due either to their gradual westward movement through the Ijekavian regions or else as a result of their long stay in the ijekavian territories of East Herzegovina, Montenegro and Sanjak.

The Orthodox Church followed the migratory population. First monasteries appeared, some of them built on the ruins of abandoned Franciscan friaries. During the 16th and 17th centuries, on the Turkish held territories, 3 Serbian Orthodox monasteries were founded in Herzegovina, 8 in Bosnia, 9 in East Croatia (2 in Slavonia, 7 in Srijem), 3 in South Croatia (Dalmatia) and 4 in Bosanska Krajina.[3] In Banska, or Christian Croatia [4], 2 monasteries were founded. In 1502 the first metropolitan see was founded in the Krusedol monastery in Srijem, in Croatian territory. In Srijem the Orthodox settlers were predominantly Ekavian speaking Serbs, while in the remaining Croatian lands, particularly in the regions bordering on the Turkish held territories, Ijekavian speaking Vlachs predominated among the settlers. Following the restoration of the Serbian Patriarchate in Pec in 1557, it succeeded in bringing

under its jurisdiction the majority of the Orthodox clergy, including the Greco-Vlach (Phanariot) clergy who were dispersed over those regions of Croatia and Southern Hungary conquered by the Turks. Makarije, the first patriarch of the restored Pec Patriarchate, founded the episcopal see in Orahovica for Turkish Slavonia and the Dabro-Bosnian see for the rest of Croatia- Bosnia under Turkish rule. A period of close cooperation with the Turks followed (1557-1690) and during that time the Patriarchate of Pec evolved into a strong theocratic and feudal force, a kind of autonomous government inside the Ottoman empire. The Patriarchs of Pec exploited the situation, undertaking intensive campaigns to convert Catholic Croats to Orthodoxy and at the same time were using pressure on the Catholic clergy to pay tributes to the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy. Conversion to Orthodoxy was at that time encouraged due to the wars being waged between the Ottoman empire and the European Catholic powers, resulting in the persecutions of Catholics, considered to be the most unreliable element under the Ottoman rule. Many remaining pockets of Catholicism were converted to Orthodoxy at that time in the territory of Turkish Croatia (Bosanska Krajina and North Dalmatia) and in the Dubrovnik hinterland, unless they had already embraced Islam. Many Catholics changed to Orthodoxy voluntarily for lack of Catholic clergy, as the Franciscans, the only Catholic priests or monks even partly tolerated by the Ottoman rulers, could not provide for the religious needs of the Catholic Croats.

After the Christian/Islam battle line was consolidated in front of the city of Senj and in the zones between the rivers Kupa-Una and Cazma-Ilova in Croatia in the middle of the 16th century, the boundary line remained unchanged for almost 150 years, until the end of 1699. During that time (particularly between 1597 and 1605) numerous Uskoks and Prebjezi, among them a number of the Orthodox population, crossed into the territory of Christian Croatia. In 1595, by a previous agreement with the Archduke Ferdinand, the bishop of the Vlachs, Vasilije, moved from the Croatian territory held by the Turks (Orahovica) and established the first Orthodox episcopal see in the Croatia-Slavonia region. His successor, Simun Vratanja, entered into a union with the Catholic Church of the Croatian Christian territory in 1611, recognizing the bishop of Zagreb. This Uniat episcopate known as Svidnicko- Marcanski had about 60,000 adherents using the Greco-Slavonic rite. (Its bishops being: Predojevic, Stanislavic, Kordic, Mijakirc Zorcic, etc.). At the same time, two more Orthodox episcopal sees were founded on Turkish held Croatian territory (Medak and Savina) and two episcopal sees transferred their seat to the territory of Bosnia (Zvornik and Sarajevo, in 1709).

THE ROLE OF THE METROPOLITAN SEE OF KARLOVCI Following the wars at the end of the 17th century the Turks were expelled from parts of Croatian territory (Slavonia, Lika, Banija and a large part of the Dalmatian hinterland) and also from Hungary and Northern Serbia. These wars caused two other important migratory movements of the Orthodox population; led by the Pec Patriarchs Arsenije Crnojevic in 1690, with 37,000 Serbian families; and Arsenije Joanovic Sakabenta in 1737. These two migrations followed the wars between Austria and Turkey and were the result of the insurrection and retreat of the Orthodox population from the rebellious regions and were directed towards South Hungary (Backa and Banat) and Eastern Croatia (Srijem). In contrast to the earlier, predominantly

Vlach migrations, which moved westward and spoke either Vlach or the Ijekavian Neostokavian dialect, these new northern migrations consisted mainly of Serbs who spoke the Ekavian dialect.

As a result of these migrations and because of the border, which at that time separated them from their fellow Serbs under the Turkish domination, the ties between the Metropolitan of Srijem and the Pec Patriarchate were weakened. The Patriarchate was gradually losing its Serbian character and was later dissolved, (in 1766), its territory returned to the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. From that time almost all the nominated bishops were Phanariots.

In 1690 the Austrian Emperor Leopold recognised the supremacy in religious matters of Arsenije Crnojevic, not only over the recently arrived Orthodox population which he had led, but also over those Christians of the Greco-Slavonic rite who had crossed into the Christian part of Croatia more than a century before and had formed the Eastern Catholic Svidnicko-Marcanska diocese. This began the rivalry in the first half of the 18th century between the Croat-Vlach supporters of church unity (Uniats) and the Serbian Orthodox Metropolitan of Srijem for jurisdiction over the people of the Greco-Slavonic rite in the territory of Croatia. In the struggle the opponents of unity succeeded not only in stifling the attempts of the Greek Catholic bishops to achieve union in parts liberated from the Turks (Slavonia and Srijem) but also in gaining control of the population of the Eastern rite in East Lika, Kordun and Banija, which previously had adhered to union. At the same time the Serbian metropolitan see in Srijem began its organization of the Orthodox Church, not only for the Serbian population in Srijem and in Southern Hungary (Vojvodina), but also among the Orthodox Vlachs and Croats in the rest of Croatia. An episcopal see was founded in Karlovac but was soon divided into: Karlovacko- Senjska and Kostajnicko-Zrinopoljsko-Licka (1713-69); Pakranska (1705); and Lepinsko-Severinska (1734-50). The episcopal see of Srijem was from 1751 administered by a metropolitan, at first from Krusedol, and later from Srijemski Karlovci.

As a result of these developments the metropolitan see of Karlovci became an Orthodox Ecclesiastical Province which up to 1920 embraced all the Orthodox Serbs, Vlachs, Croats and Romanians in Southern Hungary (Vojvodina) and in Croatia. Orthodox Vlachs and Orthodox Croats living in parts of Dalmatia under Venetian rule, and in Bosnia, were outside of its jurisdiction, as were Romanians from the 1860s, when the Romanian Orthodox Church was founded in Hungary. The Metropolitans of Karlovci titled themselves the Supreme Metropolitans (Serbian Archbishops) and acknowledged the supremacy of the Patriarch of Pec. Only, after the Patriarchate of Pec was abolished in 1766 did Metropolitan Josif Rajacic receive the title of Patriarch in 1848.

After the formation of the metropolitan see in Karlovci, the Orthodox Church in Croatia, officially known among the Croatian Vlachs and Croats as Eastern Catholic, came more and more under pressure from the Serbian Orthodox Church whose aim was to take control of the non-Serbian Orthodox clergy and population, in particular the numerous Vlachs, most of whom were slavonicized or croaticized. With the weakening and subsequent abolition of the Pec Patriarchate in 1766, this aim lost its impetus in the territories under Turkish rule, but gained momentum in Banska Croatia and in Vojna Krajina[5] through the workings of the

metropolitan see of Karlovci. In the second half of the last century the serbianization of the non- Serbian Orthodox population culminated in the creation of a Serbian church-nation consciousness among the majority of the Orthodox population in Croatia. Since that time Serbian has become for many synonymous with Orthodoxy. In this way modern Serbian nationalism moved not only northwards through migrations but also westwards through conversions to Serbian Orthodoxy. This caused Serbian ethnic dispersal and formed a substantial Serbian minority in the Croatian territory. At the same time the ancient centre of the Serbian Church in Pec remained outside the influence of the metropolitan see of Karlovci and was gradually settled by the Albanians. During the dictatorship of Khuen-Hedervary in Croatia (1883-1903) the first Serbian Orthodox schools were founded, and in Pakrac a Serbian Orthodox Faculty of Theology was opened. The flag of the Kingdom of Serbia was later taken as the Orthodox flag in Croatia. Similar developments took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Austro-Hungarian occupation when, in 1905, autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church schools were officially confirmed. This characteristic method of awakening national consciousness through the religious affiliation brought the classification of the majority of Orthodox as Serbs, and the analogous classification of Latin and Greek rite Catholics as Croats, thus greatly impeding the awakening of national consciousness among the Muslim population. The most negative result of this was that what used to be a religious mosaic was transformed, Croats and Serbs intermixing without respect for their historical, cultural or political boundaries, which in turn caused complications between these two and the other nations on the Balkan Peninsula. The result of this process was the very slow formation of Serbia and Croatia into modern religiously heterogeneous nations (especially Serbia) and the formation of substantial minorities in the Croatian and Serbian territories: 28.8 % in the present day Republic of Serbia, 20.6% in the present day Republic of Croatia (with Serbs making 14.2 %) and a very complicated situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (39.6 % Muslims, 37.2 % Serbs and 20.6 % Croats) .[6] This led to intolerance, friction and conflict between the minorities and the indigenous population. This was greatly exploited by the foreigners: the regime of Khuen-Hedervary in Banska Croatia, the Autonomists in Dalmatia, the regime of Kallay in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italians, Germans and Hungarians during the Second World War, etc. In addition to this the extermination of Muslims took place in Serbia during the last century, and in Sanjak and in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first half of this century, again by the Serbs. This led to the mutual extermination of both Serb and Croat minorities during the Second World War.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN YUGOSLAVIA 1918-1941 When the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded in 1918 there were three autocephalous Orthodox Church regions in the territory of the new state at the metropolitan level: Karlovci, Belgrade and Montenegro-Littoral. Also the Dalmatian part of the Bukovinsko-Dalmatian metropolitan see and the National Autonomous Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the supreme rule of the Patriarch of Constantinople. All these Churches were united in Belgrade on the 26th of May 1919 into one Serbian Orthodox Church for the newly formed kingdom. The Serbian Patriarchate was established on the 30th of August 1920 in Srijemski Karlovci, and on 12th November in the same year the electoral council met and elected

Dimitrije Pavlovic, Archbishop of Belgrade and Metropolitan of Serbia, as the Patriarch (1920-30). Patriarch Dimitrije was succeeded by Varnava Rosic (1930-37), up to that time Metropolitan of Skopje. During his time the Serbian Orthodox Church violently resisted the concordat between the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the Holy See which the government of Milan Stojadinovic wanted to ratify in 1937. During this conflict Patriarch Varnava died, and blood was shed in the demonstrations which followed, on the 19th of July 1937 in Belgrade. The new Patriarch Gavrilo Dozic (1938-50) was arrested in April 1941 in the Ostrog monastery by the Germans and, since he refused to collaborate, was interned until the end of the war.

The process of organization of the Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia was started by enacting temporary legislation about the Serbian Patriarchate (23th October 1920) and centralizing the administrative and judicial power of the Serbian Patriarchate (13th December 1920), the law of the Serbian Orthodox Church (8th November 1929) and finally the constitution of the Serbian Orthodox Church (16th November 1931).

In its organization the Serbian Orthodox Church was, in the period between the two wars, one, indivisible and episcopalian, with main administrative divisions into eparchies in hierarchic and administrative matters. In this way the name Eastern Catholic Church was officially abolished in Croatia and all the Orthodox in the territory of Yugoslavia, including the non-Serbian population (Macedonians, Montenegrins, Vlachs, Croats, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Albanians, Greeks, Czinczars, etc.) were subordinated to the Patriarch in Belgrade and considered to be of the Serbian Orthodox faith. There is no doubt that the neglect and persecutions of non-Serbian nations in pre-war Yugoslavia, primarily Croats, Macedonians and Albanians, caused ill feeling towards the Serbian Orthodox Church also, as the one most favoured and privileged. The colonization of purely Croatian and Catholic regions by Serbian volunteers, persecution of Muslims after the First World War, building of Serbian Orthodox churches and attempts to penetrate into purely Catholic territories like the Adriatic coast (the island of Vis for example) caused, in addition to ethnic animosity, even more ill will towards the Serbian Orthodox Church.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VARIOUS NATIONAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES In contrast to other world religions which have no close ties with individual nations, and unlike the Catholic Church, which is under papal authority, the Orthodox Church has no common Organisation. “The Patriarch of Constantinople has no authority over the Orthodox Churches of other countries. Territories in the East, lost by Byzantium during its decline, gradually lost contact with the central authority, while the regions bordering on the Frankish empire and Byzantium oscillated for some time between the Pope and the ecumenical Patriarch (Moravia, Bulgaria, Dalmatian Theme [7]). On gaining strength the new mediaeval states under the Byzantine cultural influence aimed for political and ecclesiastic independence. The Bulgarian ruler Simeon, after proclaiming himself Emperor of the Bulgarians and Greeks in 925, established in Bulgaria a patriarchate which became independent from Byzantium (927-1018); Bulgarians again enjoyed an autonomous Church in the time of Ivan Asjen II (1218-41). At the same time, while Byzantium was in disarray during the fourth Crusade, Sava Nemanjic founded the independent Serbian archiepiscopacy in 1219 which became an

independent patriarchate in the time of Tsar Dusan in 1346. Its archbishop, Joakinije, was proclaimed “The Patriarch of the Serbs and Bulgarians”. The Turkish invasion meant the end of the independent Serbian Church. The Romanian Church was autonomous between 1425 and 1440. The Byzantine Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople, seeking help from the West against the Turks, tried once more (1439) to resolve the question of schism (Florentine Union). Their move was used by the Russian Church as a pretext to deny allegiance to the Patriarch of Constantinople and then to declare their independence in 1448. The Metropolitan of Moscow took the title of Patriarch in 1589. Peter the Great abolished the Moscow Patriarchate (1721) and in its place in- stalled the Holy Synod. The Patriarchate was restored only in 1917.[8] Following the rehabilitation of the Orthodox Church in the Balkan Peninsula after the long period of close collaboration with the Turks, it started actively to participate in the resistance against the Ottoman rule, and in addition to religious needs played a part in preserving literacy, culture, and in nurturing national tradition. The Patriarchate of Pec played the same role (1557-1766). After the national states were formed on the Balkan Peninsula the autonomous Churches were established in their territories. Beside the Patriarchate of Constantinople the following Churches became independent: the *Greek Orthodox Church* (synod 1828, autocephalous 1833, recognised 1850); the *Romanian Orthodox Church* (autocephalous 1865, patriarchate 1925); the *Bulgarian Orthodox Church* (independence 1870, exarchate 1945);. the *Hungarian Orthodox Church* (independence 1930); the *Serbian Orthodox Church* (autonomy 1830, autocephalous 1879, patriarchate 1920); the *Albanian Orthodox Church* (autocephalous 1939); the *Macedonian Orthodox Church* (autonomy 1959, autocephalous 1967) and the *Croatian Orthodox Church* (autocephalous only 1942-45). In addition to the four Patriarchates (Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem) there were also numerous national and autocephalous Churches in existence: Russian (2), Georgian, Sinaian, Cypriot, Polish, Czechoslovak, Finnish, Dodecanese, Ukrainian (2), American (3), Syrian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, etc.

THE CROATIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

THE LEGAL AND OFFICIAL POSITION OF THE ORTHODOX PEOPLE IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA DURING 1941 Following the collapse of Yugoslavia after the attack by the Axis powers, the Independent State of Croatia was founded on the 10th of April 1941. The newly formed state was comprised of the Triune Kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia) and of Bosnia and Herzegovina (but excluding Medjimurje, part of Gorski Kotar, the coastal part of Northern Dalmatia between the river Zrmanja and the town of Split, Boka Kotorska and all the islands except Pag, Brac and Hvar). According to the census taken in 1931, the territory of the Croatian State had a total population of 6.042,306; 30.5 % of which (1,845,340) were Orthodox. This does not take into account the above mentioned territorial losses in which the Croatian Catholic population was predominant. The regime of the newly formed state was totalitarian and authoritarian. The head of state, Dr. Ante Pavelic [9] and the Ustasha movement held all the legislative and executive power. Legislation No XXXV-232-Z-1942 of 24th January 1942 re-establishing the Croatian Diet and the convening of the Diet, on the 23rd of February 1942 did not basically change the system of government. Religious matters in the new state came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Justice and

Religion. The internal organization of this ministry was prescribed by the legislation of the 9th of August 1941. The ministries were divided into departments each with its own special responsibilities. One section only was established at first, but later a Department for Religion headed by Fr. A. R. Glavas. Within the competence of this department was “to regulate the status and legal relations of all religions and their clergy; also religious matters of general/legal importance” .[10] From March 1942 a Committee for Justice and Religion was active in the Diet; a member of this committee was a retired university professor and former vice-ban, the respected writer Dr. Vinko Kriskovic.

The ministerial decree of 18th of July 1941 ruled that the title “The Serbian Orthodox Faith”, which was considered to be at discord with the new state organisation, be replaced with “The Greek- Eastern Faith” as it was called before 1918. By the decree of the 4th of December 1941 “on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia the Julian calendar is abolished from the 5th of December 1941 for the Greek-Eastern and the Greek- Catholic Church and the Gregorian calendar is introduced” .[11]

The official view regarding religious freedom and the status of Orthodox during 1941 could be seen from the speech presented to the Diet by the Minister for Justice and Religion, Dr. Mirko Puk. “On the question of religion, the Croatian government follows the principle which the founder of the Party of Right, Dr. Ante Starcevic (l2), enshrined in the heart and soul of the Croatian people. In his guide for the followers of the party he says in clause 136: the Party of Right must teach the people that religion is a spiritual matter, that no nation can be divided on a religious basis, that religion must be free, that no one can impose his own religion by force, that a nation must be one in happiness, well-being and freedom, and that the present disunity in Croatia is used by the enemies of the people” .[13] After this liberal quotation however, Dr. Puk continues: “The Croatian government recognizes 3 religions in Croatia i. e. the Catholic, Western or Eastern rite, Muslim, and Evangelical of the Augsburg Helvetian confession”. At the end of his speech Dr. Puk referred to ” … the Serbian Orthodox and Greek-Eastern Church. The Independent State of Croatia is not persecuting the Greek-Eastern religion, but it can not recognize the Serbian Orthodox Church! It is a known fact that the Eastern Churches belong to the so-called Caesarean Churches i. e. to Churches where religious matters are influenced by the establishment, as in the nomination of Church hierarchies, so that in reality these Churches have no freedom in their structure or Organisation, neither do they function freely but remain organs of the establishment. The head of state is also the head of the Church and it is a known fact that the laity plays a predominant role. Therefore, to allow the formation and existence of the Serbian Orthodox Church on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia would mean allowing the government of the Serbian State partly to govern in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, using the Serbian Orthodox Church. This no country in the world would or could allow, and the Independent State of Croatia will not allow it either. Those who for any reason do not wish to recognize this historic condition are free to leave the territory of this state” .[14]

Dr. Ante Pavelic in his address to the final session of the Croatian Diet on the 28 th of February 1942, referred also to the question of Orthodoxy in the Independent State of Croatia with the following words: “Gentlemen! One thing which has so often had its

repercussions, both good and bad, for the Croatian nation and for our Croatian homeland is the question of the Orthodox Church. Not the Orthodox religion but the Church, because there is only one Christian religion. We used to have a Greek- Eastern Church. It was called Greek-Eastern because the Orthodox in our country were under the Greek Patriarch whose chief care for them consisted in receiving high rewards for the anointing of bishops. The same situation also existed in Hungary. Hungarians, however, passed a law by which all Orthodox were made subjects to the Serbian Patriarch. Soon after the Croats copied the Hungarians and the same law was passed in Croatia. In this way the Orthodox came under the rule of the Serbian Patriarch, and the name 'Serbian Orthodox Church' was coined. There is no one in Croatia who has anything against the Orthodox faith. Everyone is praying to God according to his own conscience, according to what he has learned in his youth, by his birth, by his schooling and upbringing, and as he thinks best for the salvation of his soul. It is not for us to enter into that most intimate side of human life, into the question of the salvation of the soul. It is not true that the Croatian State aims to convert the Orthodox to the Catholic faith. That is not political. That is left to the individual conscience. I personally wrote a circular which was distributed to the authorities responsible in the provinces and asked them to keep a record of the conversions, not only to Catholicism but also to Islam and to Evangelicalism, and to give permission only when satisfied that the convert is honest and doing it out of conviction. I stressed in the circular that all means must be employed to prevent any kind of force being used by anybody. Despite this, violence was used in some cases but this was not done by the State, or with the approval of the State, but by individuals who acted illegally or, if by officials, then they have overstepped their authority.[15] Gentlemen! No one is touching Orthodox but there is no room for a Serbian Orthodox Church in the State of Croatia. I repeat: there can be no Serbian, can be no Greek Orthodox Church. Why? Because everywhere in the world Orthodox Churches are national Churches. The Serbian Orthodox Church is part and parcel of the Serbian State. The hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church is led by the Serbian State. Its state representatives appoint the Patriarch, or at least participate in his appointment, and all the hierarchy depends on him, from bishop to chaplain. All this is dependent on the Serbian establishment. This is so in Serbia, and has been so in the past in unfortunate Yugoslavia, but it may not and will not be in the Croatian State. World Churches which do not depend on a state could exist in Croatia, and there are such Churches. But if a Church is not a world Church, then it can only be a Croatian national Church, it can only be a Church which has full freedom in the spiritual domain and in freedom of conscience, but in all other matters it must be under the control of the Croatian State. We will never permit any Church to become a political tool, particularly not one aimed against the existence of the Croatian nation and the Croatian State. Therefore, sensible men who care for spiritual things will get together to analyse this question and to find a satisfactory solution for the Orthodox faith, for the welfare of the people, and for the good of the Croatian State" .[16]

From the address quoted above by the Minister Dr. Puk, and from the address by the Head of the State to the Diet, it will be concluded that the official position which the government of the new state adopted was characterized by the following:

1. To affirm the Croatian nation as a modern and religiously heterogeneous nation, in contrast to the outdated and harmful identification of a nation with a particular religion. 2. In contrast to the liberal views on the question of religion as proclaimed by Starcevic, to adopt totalitarian and authoritarian official recognition of only four religions: Catholic (Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic), Muslim, Protestant Lutheran and Protestant Calvinist. 3. Not to recognize or to tolerate, in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, the Serbian Orthodox Church as an autocephalous national Church of the Serbian State. 4. To explain that the conversion of a number of Orthodox to Catholicism and the atrocities committed against the Orthodox population under the Ustasha name, had no support from the government nor was it encouraged. 5. To solve the problem of Orthodoxy in a Croatian framework by recognizing an autocephalous Croatian Orthodox Church.

THE COMPLEXITY OF THE SITUATION IN 1941 PRIOR TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE CROATIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH An unbiased, objective and detailed historical analysis of events in the Independent State of Croatia during 1941 has not yet been written. Neither is it our intention to write one, as this would require a complete book. But, as there is a need to give a concise account of events which influenced the situation of Orthodoxy in the Independent State of Croatia and led to the foundation of the Croatian Orthodox Church, it is necessary to explain and clarify some basic notions. The lack of a clear understanding of these notions prevents a proper analysis of these very complex events, events which were the result of equally complex causes and were made capital of by malicious generalization. It is necessary to explain, first of all, the relationship between modern Serbian and Croatian nationalism, the Catholic/Orthodox relations, and finally the relations between the Chetniks and the Ustashas.

CONFLICT BETWEEN MODERN SERBIAN AND CROATIAN NATIONALISM Modern Serbian nationalism began to develop at the beginning of the last century in the Belgrade pashalic of the then Turkish territory, mainly under the influence and with the support of the metropolitan see of Karlovci in the Hungaro-Croatian region of Vojvodina and East Srijem. Without a contemporary platform for statehood it took for its basis the ancient Serbian tradition of Dusan’s empire and the death of Tsar Lazar on the Field of Kosovo. On the other hand the lack of a formal, national, cultural and religious centre was substituted for by the metropolitan see of Karlovci, supported periodically by the Russian Church (the Patriarchate of Pec had been denationalized long before and subsequently abolished). The insurrection in the territory of the Belgrade pashalic, of the already decadent Turkish empire, resulted in the creation and subsequent recognition (in 1833) of the Serbian principality with help from tsarist Russia. Islam was eliminated from the territory and the principality became a nationally and religiously homogenous centre for future assembling of lands in which the Serbs lived; also a centre for the Great Serbian imperialism, with expansionist policies into territories with no Serbian population or where the Serbian population was in a minority. These territorial aspirations were based on the desire to renew Dusan’s empire (by conquest of Sanjak, Macedonia, Albania and Montenegro) and the extent of the activities the Pec Patriarchate had had during Turkish rule (Vojvodina, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia excluding a narrow stretch between the river Drava and the Adriatic).

The formation of modern Croatian nationalism had a completely different origin. It was based on the continuity of ancient Croatian statehood, beginning with a principality, later a kingdom (the first king, Tomislav, crowned in 923), preserving its individuality during the time of Hungaro-Croatian Personal Union [17]; on the historic, legalistic and ethnic conception of a Unitary Illyricum (*in Dalmatiam, Croatiam, Bosnam et Slavoniam distinguitur*), during and after the Renaissance and the autonomous Triune Kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia), within the Hapsburg Monarchy. Although with an apparently solid base for statehood and with traditions in constitutional and legalistic institutions (like ban /viceroy/ and Sabor /Diet/), 19th century Croatia had great weaknesses also. The ruling class, in part denationalised aristocracy, took no part in the contemporary Croatian national movement but strongly resisted it. In addition to this, three centuries of territorial separation (Ban's Croatia, Military Frontier, Venetian Dalmatia, the Dubrovnik Republic and the territories under Turkish rule), the military zone in the geographical centre of Croatian territory, and migrations, weakened the consciousness of its ancient statehood in some areas. "The Croatian National Awakening Movement" introduced modern national ideas on the unity of the Croatian language and culture (from 1830). But at the same time it ushered in the nebulous ideas of Illyrianism, Slavism, and Yugoslavism. For this reason modern Croatian nationalism was left behind the development of modern nationalism in Serbia, and it was Starcevic and "Pravastvo" (the Party of Croatian Rights) who could be considered the founders of modern Croatian political nationalism which had worked, not only in uniting the Military Frontier and Dalmatia with the Triune Kingdom, but also on unification with Bosnia, Herzegovina and Istria.

The conflict between Croatian and Serbian modern nationalism started when nationalist ideas spread, from the region of Zagreb on the Croatian side and from the Novi Sad/Belgrade region on the Serbian side, towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, at that time still in Turkish hands, its population nonawakened nationally; and when the metropolitan see of Karlovci aimed for a definite inclusion of all the Orthodox from the territory of the Triune Kingdom (Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia) and from Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Serbs. "Pravastvo" (the Party of Croatian Rights) resisted this with the modern idea of a multi-religious Croatian nation, but the anti-Croatian regimes of Khuen, Hedervary in Ban's Croatia, Autonomists in Dalmatia, and Kallay in Bosnia, saw to it that the Serbian equation, Orthodox = Serb, prevailed. This later brought the analogous equation: Catholic = Croat. The Muslims were left mostly unaligned in the middle. A number of Orthodox and Muslims, however, accepted the modern formula propagated by "Pravasi" about the religiously heterogeneous Croatian nation, and that is why there are a number of Orthodox and Muslim Croats; cases of Catholic or Muslim Serbs were exceptionally rare.

CATHOLICISM AND ORTHODOXY Catholicism as a major branch of Western Christianity is the faith of the majority of the Croats and also gave a Catholic character to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. It was the religion of the dynasty and of the majority of nations making up the monarchy: Austrians, Hungarians, Croats, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes and Ukrainians. As a universal Church, Catholicism at that time still aimed to proselytise, but this was founded on a purely voluntary basis. A proof of this was the fact that the privileged position Catholicism enjoyed in Austro-Hungary was not exploited during the last few

centuries. There was no proselytization either through persuasion or force. Religious freedom was complete.

The Orthodox Church, as already mentioned, has no unitary organisation like the Catholic Church. In addition to being divided into old and traditional national Churches, Orthodoxy was also adapting itself to the newly formed nations and to the new national states and it often became their main propellent force. On the other hand these newly formed nations and national states encouraged the formation of their own Orthodox Churches to free their citizens from the control of other national Orthodox Churches which were under the influence of foreign states and governments. From these developments it followed that the territory settled by the Croats was a meeting place for three major faiths: Catholic, Orthodox and Islam. While Catholicism and Islam are universal religions, Orthodoxy is divided into a number of national Churches. As the Croats had not founded an autocephalous Croatian Orthodox Church by the time of National Awakening (although in 1861 Kvaternik [18] appealed to ban Sokcevic to found a Church), the Serbian Orthodox Church took its place for the greater part of the Orthodox population among the Croats and at the same time succeeded in winning over to the Serbian cause the majority of the Orthodox population, mainly the already slavonicized and croaticized descendants of the Vlachs. In other words the proselytism of Serbian Orthodoxy among the Croats did not only have a religious character (as in the official Catholic Church) but also had a nationalistic Serbian dimensions, which sometimes led to national intolerance.

THE CHETNIKS AND THE USTASHAS The Chetniks, a Serbian military Organisation with expansionist aims, was formed in Belgrade in 1903 with the intention of fighting the Turks. Later it was engaged in a war against Bulgarian comitadjis and against the Austro-Hungarian occupying forces during the First World War. Between the two wars (1918-1941) the Chetnik Organisation became an extremist (Great) Serbian monarchist group with the aim of turning Yugoslavia into a Great Serbia by using terror and extermination when necessary to “clear” mixed regions from non-Serbian elements, as for example the purging of Muslims from Sanjak after the First World War. Thus Chetniks became an important element in the persecution of Croats in pre-war Yugoslavia.

The formation and development of the Ustasha movement is described by the historian, Jere Jareb, as follows: “After 1918 the Croatian people found themselves for the first time in a Balkan state where brute force, murders and secretive revolutionary organizations were normal political phenomena. The philosophy behind the formation of the Ustasha movement was the conviction that force must be answered by force. The Ustasha movement was an answer to the (Great) Serbian oppression and to lawlessness in Croatia. For the first time in Croatian politics the Ustasha movement introduced and applied Balkan political methods. It was necessary to show the Serbs that the Croats also knew how to use guns and to defend themselves and attack. Radic’s [19] and Macek’s [20] politics of pacifism and humanitarianism only provoked contempt from (Great) Serbs. It is possible that this kind of politics created an illusion and a confidence among the (Great) Serbs, making them believe that it would be easy to finish off the Croats”. E. “Dido” Kvaternik, one of the leading Ustasha functionaries, said this: “Anti Serbian feeling was the essence of the Ustasha doctrine, its *raison d’etre* and

ceterum censeo. This was the result of 20 years of rule by Belgrade in Croatia and of the knowledge that the Serbian ruling establishment wanted to exterminate the Croatian nation. Aleksandar Karadjordjevic[21] created Ante Pavelic, Chetniks created Ustashas".
So when Croatian and Serbian nationalisms came into conflict, the extreme Chetnik and Ustasha organizations came to grips in their own specific way.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE USTASHAS AND THE CHETNIKS IN THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA DURING 1941 AND ITS CONSEQUENCE FOR ORTHODOXY Soon after the Independent State of Croatia was founded, the new government consolidated relatively quickly in those areas which constituted "Banovina Hrvatska" (Ban's Croatia from 1939 to 1941), and where the majority of the population was Croatian. In those parts of the former Vrbaska Banovina and Drinska Banovina with the compact Serbian districts it took some time for the new administration to consolidate, which gave time to the Chetnik element to amass their arms and prepare the population for an uprising. Already, at the very beginning, excesses took place, committed by Ustashas in those parts of the country where Serbs were in a minority and by Chetniks in those parts with Croat Muslim or Catholic population in a minority. Political gatherings which took place during the months of May and June in 1941 and at which the high Ustasha functionaries harangued against the (Great) Serbs, aggravated the situation. At the same time mass uprisings against the new state were started by the Serbian population in parts of Bosanska Krajina and in East Bosnia and Herzegovina, organized or encouraged by the Chetniks. The minorities under attack either perished or escaped. Croat Muslims and Catholics into the towns and Serbs into the forests. Following the first wave of terrorist excesses, massacres, plunderings, house burnings and the destruction of places of worship (Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim) came retaliations, which caused suffering mainly to the innocent population who had not escaped. Intervention by the authorities was too slow and ineffective because the new administration was only beginning to form and the police stations which had only recently been set up were unable to prevent the mass terrorism. In this situation the Serbian minority in some towns and villages in the Pannonian region lived in fear of reprisals, which caused some to escape to Serbia; while others decided to change their religion from Serbian Orthodoxy to another denomination. In the non- mixed, purely Croatian regions there were no such problems and only after the outbreak of war between Germany and the Soviet Union the first communist guerilla units formed. In the meantime the Partisans skillfully exploited the Chetnik/Ustasha conflict for their own aims.
From the above circumstances and from a very brief analysis of events during 1941, which caused the persecutions and the civil war in the mixed regions of the Independent State of Croatia, the following conclusions can be drawn: 1.The presence of three religions (Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim) in the territory of the Independent State of Croatia was not a cause of the persecutions and the civil war. History has shown that peaceful co-existence and tolerance among the three religions in this territory was possible. 2. The conflict between Croatian and Serbian nationalism was not the main cause of the persecutions and the civil war because these conflicts were solved in the past by peaceful means and not by the use of force. 3. It is incorrect to present the events of 1941 as if they were typical for the whole

duration of the war, from 1941 to 1945. 4. Conditions were not the same for the whole territory of the Independent State of Croatia. It depended on who were: a) Chetnik or Ustasha leaders, commandants or functionaries. b) In whose hands lay the power (Chetniks, officials of the former Yugoslav government or of the former government of Ban's Croatia, HSS /Croatian Peasants Party/, Ustashas emigrants, native Ustashas under the oath or self-styled Ustashas, the so called "Nastashas" [22]). c) Whether the region in question was ethnically mixed or purely Croatian or Serbian. d) Whether the area was in the zone occupied by Italians who supported and aided the Chetniks. e) The degree of a rebellious tradition among the population which depended on the geographical location of that area (whether Pannonian, Dinaric or Littoral). Polemical arguments about "who started first?" are pointless because, depending on circumstances, it was started either in the name of Chetniks or in the name of Ustashas, but always by an irresponsible element.

What then was the main cause for starting the persecutions and civil war in 1941, which in some areas and under specific conditions degenerated from military or semi-military actions to mass reprisals against the civilian population and which the adherents of communism later used for their own aims, stressing the absurdity of this conflict? It was mainly the conflict between the Chetniks and Ustashas. In that conflict all three religions: Catholic, Orthodox and Muslim, suffered and endured persecutions, including massacres, murdering of priests and burning down of churches and mosques. However, neither the Serbian nor the Croatian nation could be collectively blamed for the violence and crimes committed and for the misuse of power, nor could the members of any individual religion, nor could amorphous groups like the Croatian or Serbian nationalists or the members of mass organised movements such as Ustashas and Chetniks, although these were extremist organisations. Only those irresponsible individuals who committed the crimes could be held responsible, but the majority of these unfortunately remained anonymous; even more, some of them later succeeded in joining the Partisan movement.

CASES OF CONVERSION FROM ORTHODOXY TO CATHOLICISM As can be seen from the situation in 1941 the Serbian Orthodox Church, as a Church with a Serbian national character was proscribed, while the Greek- Eastern Church, as the Orthodox Church was renamed and as it used to be called in the time of the Austro-Hungarian empire, was not officially organised or recognised and remained without a leader. In that way the Orthodox were in fact left without a church organization unless they belonged to another autocephalous Church such as the Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian, etc., and in which clergy were available. The formation of the Independent State of Croatia and the Ustasha campaigns against the (Great) Serbs made many of the Orthodox population accept the situation, depending on circumstances (for example, renewal of old loyalty to Croatia among the Orthodox "Krajisnici") or created a climate of uncertainty (with regard to possible reaction from the persecution of Croats in pre-war Yugoslavia). When it became known that power had been misused and atrocities committed, the Orthodox population in mixed areas and in the towns with Orthodox minorities became fearful, and while some escaped to Serbia, even when not being persecuted, others, on their own initiative, converted to Catholicism, or occasionally Protestantism, to avoid current or possible persecutions. Therefore the

phenomenon of groups of Orthodox converting to Catholicism represents a separate chapter in the events which took place in the Independent State of Croatia during 1941. There are three assertions about this phenomenon.

a) Great Serbian and the present official Yugoslav: the conversion took place because the Orthodox population were forced by Ustashas, by the government of the Independent State of Croatia, and even by the Catholic Church.

b) Thesis about conversions as a result of fear: the conversions were not forced, neither were they intended by the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia. The Orthodox population came to the idea and went ahead with it voluntarily and on their own initiative, but it was done out of fear to save themselves from eventual violence.

c) The assertion by Dr. A. Pavelic and Dr. S. Hefer: the conversions followed from the voluntary desire of some of the groups of the Orthodox population to be identified in faith with their Catholic brethren in one Croatian homeland. This would include cases of conversion by some Orthodox to Catholicism out of a conviction that they were returning to the faith of their forefathers. To prove this thesis Dr. Pavelic and Dr. Hefer quoted deputations of Orthodox peasants from the surrounding of Sunja received by Dr. Pavelic, and delegations from the region of the Great County of Baranja (the broader surroundings of Osijek) who were coming to Dr. Hefer.

There is no doubt that the first thesis (a) is incorrect, and that it is propagandist and tendentious for two reasons: 1. The Catholic Church authorities decisively resisted the conversions when it was not clear that the request resulted from the free wish of the applicant. 2. Generally speaking the majority of the Ustasha movement members and their leaders were not particularly pro-Catholic, nor were they especially anti Orthodox. They were against the (Greater) Serbs and only because of that were they against the Serbian Orthodoxy. This is proved by the excellent relations between the Ustasha movement and the Orthodox Macedonians, Bulgarians, Romanians Ukrainians and Russians before and during the war.

Regarding the theses (b) and (c), it is probable that both of these were followed depending upon whether there were reasons for fear or not. Nevertheless we believe that the cases as described in (b) were more numerous. Only in certain acute cases of persecutions the local Catholic Church authorities allowed the conversions as a quick means of protecting the Orthodox population (and their property) with a view to a later return to Orthodoxy .[23] Dr. Stjepan Hefer, formally a member of the Croatian Peasant Party and during the war a high official in Osijek and later a minister in the Independent State of Croatia, would often recount that in 1941 whole villages from the Osijek area came in procession under Croatian banners, headed by the cavalry and led by their elders, to be converted to Catholicism. He complained that this was later ruined by the self-styled, or “Wild Ustashas”, who started blackmailing and robbing prominent peasant converts.

ORTHODOX CROATS With the problem concerning the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Independent State of Croatia it seems that in 1941 the spiritual needs of the Orthodox Croats were neglected. It is possible that some will try to conclude that the number of Croats of Orthodox faith was very small when taking into account that the great majority of the

Orthodox population on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia at that time considered themselves to be Serbs. There were only a few who took into account that, regardless of their number, the Orthodox Croats, following the intensive serbianization of Orthodoxy in Croatia, found themselves torn between their Croatian national consciousness and their religious affiliation which officially came under the domain of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The contribution of these Croats to their homeland, especially before the metropolitan see of Karlovci started openly forcing their equation: Orthodox = = Serb, was very important. These are only some of the most prominent personalities: Anastas Popovic (1786-1872), founder of the first Croatian savings-bank, the biggest financial institution in Croatia at that time, and a president of the Orthodox community in Zagreb; Mosije Baltic (1804-78), an eminent promoter of agronomy; Dr. Dimitrije Demeter (1811-72), a poet and the first modern Croatian dramatist; Petar Preradovic (1818- 72), the greatest poet of the Croatian National Awakening; Josip Runjanin (1821-78), composer of the Croatian national anthem; Makso Prica (1823-73), a lawyer and politician, secretary to ban (viceroy) Jelacic; Nikola Krestic (1824-87), a politician and president of the Croatian Diet (1873-84); Vladimir Nikolic (1829-66), a poet and a writer; Spiro Dimitrovic Kotoranin (1813-68), a Croatian writer; Bude Budisavljevic (1843-1919), a Croatian writer; Danilo Medic (1844-79), a poet; the Honourable Dr. Ivo Malin Ksaverski (1853-1907), a university professor and a secretary and adviser to the Croatian government; Dr. Gavro Manojlovic (1856-1926), an historian and president of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts; Mojo Medic (1855- 1939), a zoologist; Nikola Kokotovic (1859-1917), a writer and politician (Croatian Party of Rights); the Honourable Dr Stjepan Miletic (1868-1908), a writer and a reformer of the Croatian theatre; Dr. Milan Ogrizovic (1877-1923), a poet and writer and a politician (Croatian Party of Rights); Petar Petrovic Pecija (1877-1955), a Croatian writer; the Honourable Svetozar Borojevic of Bojna (1856-1922), a renowned general from the First World War, and numerous other generals and high officers of the Croatian Home Guard; Dusan Plavsic, a writer and a secretary of “The Croatian Club” in Sarajevo; renowned followers of the Croatian Party of Rights, Dusan Kotur and Dane Stranisavljevic; Stjepan Mitrov Ljubisa, a Member of Parliament; Mihajlo Markovic (1869-1923), an actor; Novak Simic (1906), a Croatian writer; then the Croatian generals and officers of the Second World War, Gen. Fedor Dragojlov and Gen. Djuro Grujic, chiefs of staff in the Croatian army; Gen. Lavoslav Milic, chief of military supplies; Cav. Col. Jovo Stajic; Major Vladimir Graovac, commander of the Croatian air force bomber unit [24] on the Eastern Front; Dr. Savo Besarovic, a Member of Parliament and a minister in the government of the Independent State of Croatia; Uros Doder, a Member of Parliament in the Independent State of Croatia; prominent priests of the Croatian Orthodox Church: Vaso Surlan, Spiridon Mifka, Miron Federer, Sevastijan Peric, Dositej Teodorovic, Amvrosije Veselinovic, Rafail Stanivukovic, etc.

It will be of some interest to mention that the mother of Dr. Ante Starcevic, the founder of modern Croatian nationalism and of the Party of Rights, was Orthodox by birth. Also that the rebels in the Croatian national uprising for the independence of Croatia in Rakovica (in 1872), led by Eugen Kvaternik, were blessed in the local Orthodox church by the priest, Father Popovic, and that the majority of the rebels were Orthodox, including their

commander Rade Cuic. It will also be of interest to mention that Patriarch Josif Rajacic, the Metropolitan of Karlovci, enthroned ban (viceroy) Jelacic in 1848. At a reception held by ban Sokcevic in 1861, Eugen Kvaternik had drawn ban's attention to the existence of the Orthodox Croats and stressed "the need for a Croatian Orthodox Patriarch". It is possible that the ban's resignation was the only reason why this idea never materialized. The standpoint of Ante Radic regarding the Orthodox Croats should also be mentioned. He said: "We do not consider that everyone of the Serbian Orthodox faith is a Serb; the mind tells us this, but we can also see it among the people. We have found many peasants of the Serbian Orthodox faith who told us that they are Croats". In addition to those of the Orthodox faith who declared themselves to be Croats, it should be noted that there were numerous Orthodox who, due to the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, did not declare themselves Croats and considered themselves to be Serbs, at the same time feeling that Croatia was their homeland and that they belonged in the Croatian cultural sphere. Among these are: Nikola Tesla (1856-1943), a renowned scientist who said: "I am a Serb but my homeland is Croatia"; Dr. Pavao Vuk- Pavlovic (1894-?), a university professor, philosopher, and also a number of Croatian writers: Stevan Galogala (1893-1944), Vladan Desnica (1905-57), Milan Nolinic (1921), Vojin Jelic (1921), Cedo Prica (1931), Jovan S. Prica; then the well known artists of the Croatian National Theatre: Miso Dimitrijevic (1854- 1909), Mila Jovanovic- Dimitrijevic (1876), Josip Papic (1881-1927), Gavro Savic (1854-after 1910), Zarko Savic (1861-after 1914), Strahinja Petrovic (1892-?) and Dr. Miroslav Pantic, a former Member of Parliament from Bijeljina, and others.

We have listed these concrete examples to show that Orthodox Croats existed and that they still exist and also that there are some Serbs who consider Croatia to be their homeland. The exact number of Orthodox Croats will never be known while the Serbian Orthodox Church has exclusive rights over the Orthodox population in Croatia.

NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE FOUNDATION OF THE CROATIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF 1942

The development of events during 1941 in the Independent State of Croatia immediately provoked reaction and condemnation by the Croatian public. The Croatian Catholic primate, Archbishop of Zagreb and later cardinal of the Catholic Church, Dr. Alojzije Stepinac, on a few occasions publicly condemned the ferocity of the Ustasha/Chetnik conflicts and its consequences and the disrespect for human life and dignity. Professor Filip Lukas, a president of "Matica Hrvatska" and a Croatian national ideologist (1929-1941) also publicly condemned the lawlessness in his speech at the annual meeting of "Matica Hrvatska" at the beginning of 1942. In the autumn of 1941 Croatian Muslims dissociated themselves publicly from the atrocities with resolutions signed by eminent Muslim citizens in Sarajevo, Mostar and Banja Luka. Responsible men inside the Ustasha movement, especially those with Catholic and liberal orientation (in contrast to those with fascist ideas), after seeing that it was leading nowhere, informed Dr. Pavelic about the whole situation and in some cases returned their membership cards as a sign of protest against the self-styled or "Wild Ustashas".

Before the end of June 1941 Croatian regular military forces did not exist; the formation of

these began only in July 1941 after the Croatian government succeeded in convincing Rome and Berlin of the need to establish a Croatian military force. Only toward the end of the year was a plan drawn up about the formation of “Hrvatsko Domobranstvo?’ .[25] Croatian Serbs were not called to national service. The Chetniks exploited this and recruited them into Chetnik units. During the first months of 1942 it became clear to the majority of government officials that a dead end had been reached in the guerilla war. Dr. Pavelic then established a headquarters and at the first meeting there the problem of their attitude towards the Serbian minority was raised. According to E. “Dido” Kvaternik all the present members of the government and the representatives of the military forces agreed that the time was right to smooth out the conflict with the Serbs. Dr. Pavelic stressed that the Croatian Orthodox Church would be established as a first step toward this pacification. Shortly after that came the already quoted speech by Dr. Pavelic in Sabor (Diet) on the 28th of February 1942 suggesting this possibility as a solution. The question of establishing the Croatian Orthodox Church was discussed in March 1942 in the Department of Justice and Religion when Dr. Vinko Kriskovic courageously stood for liberal change in the legal status of Serbs in Croatia on the basis of human rights, freedom of confession, ethics and morality.

At that time I was in Srijem. I am a Serb by nationality (not an Orthodox Croat as some believe), born in Belgrade in 1910. My forefathers came from Neuzin in Banat. After qualifying as a lawyer I spent many years in the employment of the Serbian Orthodox Church, first as an apprentice to the judiciary and later as a legal adviser in Srijemski Karlovci. During the war, in April 1941, I was serving in the Yugoslav army as a lawyer with the rank of captain, first class. I succeeded in escaping captivity, but when Srijem was incorporated into the Independent State of Croatia in October 1941 I was imprisoned, and later released after the intervention of my Croatian friends. Before being included into the Independent State of Croatia, Srijem was, like Serbia, under German occupation. In April 1941 the Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Gavrilo Dozic, was arrested by the Germans in the Ostrog monastery in Montenegro. For refusing to collaborate with the Germans he was kept in internment for the duration of the war. In this new situation the synod elected the Metropolitan of Skopje, Josif Cvijovic, to deputize for Patriarch Gavrilo in the territory of Serbia. During that time the Germans took from Srijem part of the Church archives and valuables. Through Metropolitan Josif, who kept in touch with Patriarch Gavrilo, and was his close co-operator, the Patriarch sent a message that, due to the new situation, everything should be done to normalize Orthodox matters in the new Croatian State. Based on that directive, the before-mentioned speech by Dr. Pavelic, and the courageous stand by Dr. Kriskovic in the Croatian Sabor, first contacts were made with the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia, through Fr. A. R. Glavas[26], Secretary of the Department for Religion in the Ministry of Justice and Religion. Since the authorities of the Independent State of Croatia did not want to have direct talks with the Serbian Orthodox Church or with its legal representative, Josif, I was asked, as a layman, to undertake negotiations. Next I was received by Dr. Pavelic three times. In the first meeting, which lasted three and a half hours, we discussed the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church which I drafted on the basis of the Serbian Orthodox Church constitution of the 16th of November 1931, mainly by

altering the references from the former state, government and nationality to the new state, government and nationality. Two further meetings were held, mainly for additional revisions and to talk about the candidate who would receive the highest hierarchic position. During the negotiations and discussions I insisted and persevered on the legal and canonical aspects, and these were granted to me The interest of Dr. Pavelic was concentrated mainly on linguistic and symbolic things, since my knowledge of Croatian literary language and orthography and of Croatian history was inadequate.

During the negotiations in Zagreb I saw that I was being followed and spied upon by certain persons, therefore two bodyguards were assigned to me. It was later found that the Hungarians, the Germans and the English took an interest in the whole affair, hoping to find a political aspect to it, but when they saw that it was only of a religious nature, they lost interest. To the assumption by Fikreta Jelic- Butic [27] that the idea about the Croatian Orthodox Church "probably originated in the first place from the Germans" on account of a report by A. Hefer and a statement by S. Kasche (the German ambassador in the Independent State of Croatia), I have to say that all my activities were carried out exclusively with the Croatian authorities and that there were no indications that the Germans were involved, or that they gave the initiative.

On the 31 of March 1942, on the eve of the Catholic Easter a short "Provision of the law about the Croatian Orthodox Church" was published in the gazette "Narodne Novine" under the number XC-817-Z-1942 signed by the Minister of Justice and Religions, Dr. Mirko Puk, and by the head of state, according to which the Orthodox Church in Croatia was established. Soon after this legal notice the work of organizing the Croatian Orthodox Church started, and the final organization and activities were determined by the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church which came into force on the 5th of June 1942, under the number CLXIV- 1386-Z- 1942. The organization of the Croatian Orthodox Church was, in accordance with its constitution, autocephalous and episcopalian. Its ecclesiastical-hierarchical and autonomous organs were the Patriarch of the Croatian Orthodox Church and the Metropolitan of Zagreb, the Holy Archidiaconal Synod, the High Church Court, the episcopate, the parish church courts, the archidiaconal dignitaries, the priests and the church administrative councils. Administratively the Church was divided into eparchies, archidiaconal regions and parishes. For dogma and canon law the Croatian Orthodox Church was based on the Holy Scriptures and on holy tradition in accordance with the teachings of Holy Orthodoxy and on the canons of the general church synods, and administratively on the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church and on the decisions and orders of the church regions authorized by the constitution.

In addition to formulating and promulgating the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church, the selection of a suitable person of appropriate rank and qualification for the Metropolitan was important, and for this consultation and agreement with several high persons in the Orthodox hierarchy was necessary. While the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church was discussed I made contact with dignitaries who were willing to accept this duty and status and who had all the prerequisite spiritual qualifications. The person who already had the title of Metropolitan, and who responded to the invitation, was the Most Reverend Germogen, the

former Metropolitan of Novomoskovsk from Kuban. Metropolitan Germogen, on leaving the seminary, attended the Academy of Theology, became a minister and a parish priest. Later he became professor, and then rector of the Faculty of Theology in Saratov. Married and the father of a large family, he entered a monastery after the death of his wife. Later he became archimandrite and was elected as a deputy bishop in the eparchy of Don. During the First World War he was elected Archibishop of Yekaterinoslav and Novomoskovsk. He left Russia during the Revolution and spent some time in Greece, on the island of Lemnos, and on Mt. Athos. In 1922 he came to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and stayed in the monasteries of Ravanica, Rakovac and, before the Second World War, in the Hopovo monastery in Srijem. According to the constitution of the Croatian Orthodox Church, and in agreement with the ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, a patriarch would head the Croatian Orthodox Church in Zagreb. This function however was taken by the Most Rev. Germogen at the rank of Metropolitan, due to the war circumstances. Further arrangements were left for the future. Romanian, Bulgarian and Greek Orthodox Churches, as well as the ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, were notified about the establishment of the Croatian Orthodox Church and of the election of the Metropolitan Germogen. The Serbian Orthodox Patriarch, Gavrilo Dozic, who was in internment at that time, and his deputy, the Metropolitan Josif Cvijovic, were also informed, unofficially, about the negotiations, and about the eventual outcome. Patriarch Dozic agreed with the election of the Metropolitan Germogen, but was against his being nominated as a patriarch. In this respect he was satisfied. Some were critical about the election of the Metropolitan Germogen on the ground of his advanced age and because of his Russian origin, and wrote about him “being dragged from the Hopovo monastery”. Firstly, the Metropolitan Germogen lived a monastic life and was far from being ambitious; his high spiritual and moral qualifications were beyond question. His acceptance of the highest hierarchic office of the Croatian Orthodox Church was therefore a sacrifice for him. He accepted it only for religious and humanitarian reason. He knew that, because of his age, he would probably never become a patriarch and that it would only be logical to give that office to a native son. His Russian origin was a compromise. The Orthodox priests of Croatian origin were few and the choice among them was therefore limited. On the other hand members of the high Serbian hierarchy still required time to overcome the trauma of the new state and the new situation, while the younger ones, who quickly adapted to the new conditions, could not be taken into consideration for the obvious reason of their youth and lack of experience.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE CROATIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH FROM JULY 1942 TO MAY 1945

On the 7th of June 1942 the solemn enthronement of the Most Rev. Germogen as the Metropolitan of the Croatian Orthodox Church took place in the Orthodox church of the Holy Transfiguration in Preradovic Square in Zagreb, also he took canonical possession of the metropolitan see. On that day the guard of honour and musicians were lined up in front of the church, while within numerous faithful were assembled, with the clergy in solemn vestments. The government was represented by the president of the Croatian State Diet, Marko Dogen, the secretary of the Ministry of Justice and Religion and the Minister of Agriculture, Jozo

Dumandzic, the mayor of Zagreb, Ivan Werner, the State protonotary, Dr. Ivan Majcen, the master of ceremonies, Col. Machiedo, the representative of the Zagreb Orthodox community, Mr. Petar Lazic, etc. The Most Rev. Germogen arrived accompanied by his secretary, myself. The act of enthronement was carried out according to the prescribed rite and with the participation of the Orthodox priests, priors Platon, Vaso Surlan, Serafim Kubcevski, Venjamin Pavlovski, Joca Cvijanovic, Miron Federer and archdeacon Aleksej Borisov. Minister Dumandzic delivered a speech and read the decree by the head of state appointing the Most Rev. Germogen as the Metropolitan of the Croatian Orthodox Church with his seat in Zagreb (decree No. 6034-B-1942). In his speech Dr. Dumandzic said that in founding the Croatian Orthodox Church the principle expressed in the Croatian national proverb “The brother is dear whatever his faith” was followed. He also stressed that the Croatian nation had always shown religious tolerance and that for centuries Catholics and Muslim Croats had lived in harmony and love with the Orthodox. “It is certain that they will all equally love in the future their Croatian homeland with which they are closely bound by home and family, by the graves of their forefathers and the cradles of their children, and will remain her faithful sons”. He continued and stressed that the constitution guarantees to the Croatian Orthodox Church wide autonomy and unhindered spiritual activity in accordance with the principles of the Orthodox faith. On the next day, the 8th of June 1942, the Metropolitan Germogen took his oath. The ceremony was followed by a reception at which the head of state was present, together with the Cabinet headed by Dr. Dzaferbeg Kulenovic and the Metropolitan with his retinue, including myself, as well as the representatives of the Zagreb eparchy and of the Church community, Revv. Joco Cvijanovic Petar Lazic, Djuro Jukic, Teodor Vukadinovic and the Abbot Miron Federer.

The founding of the Croatian Orthodox Church had immediate and very positive results. About 3000 Orthodox detainees were released from various detention camps and prisons (Sisak, Slavonski Brod, etc.) and a number of the priests who had not emigrated to Serbia returned from the detention camp in Caprag to their flock. Orthodox churches which had been closed were immediately reopened. Metropolitan Germogen was personally present at the reopening of churches in Mitrovica, Ruma, Irig and Srijemski Karlovci. Baptisms and weddings took place in large numbers and on occasions up to 200 children were baptised in a single day. In accordance with the constitution, the eparchies of Brod, Sarajevo and Bosanski Petrovac were established, in addition to the metropolitan see of Zagreb. The organization of one in Bosanski Petrovac was not possible due to the guerilla war in that area. Various interventions on behalf of the Orthodox followed, such as one concerning approximately 600 Orthodox reserve officers who were to have been sent into the first firing lines, but were spared, some of them being allowed to return home following an appeal to the Minister, Artukovic, at 1. a. m. Amicable relations with the Catholic and Muslim hierarchies were established. During a two hour meeting with the Archbishop of Zagreb, Croatian Metropolitan the Most Rev. Alojzije Stepinac, close collaboration of the Churches and the ecumenical themes were discussed.

The young priests and clerics in Srijem who were nearing the end of their studies had these courses curtailed and were sent to vacant parishes. These appointments were left

exclusively to the hierarchy of the Croatian Orthodox Church and the civilian authorities did not interfere. Where the churches were destroyed or damaged, chapels and small cemetery churches were brought into use as parish churches. On the l0th of April 1943, to celebrate the foundation of the Independent State of Croatia, services were held in Catholic and Muslim places of worship, as well as in the Orthodox churches. Valuable art treasures such as iconostases, screens and icons from damaged or demolished Orthodox churches were transferred to the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb and preserved thanks to the museum staff. The Orthodox calendar was published and prayer-books were printed, free of all political additions; the only difference from those published before the war was that the alphabet was not Cyrillic but Latin. Essential items from that part of the archive which had not been taken by the Germans were brought to Zagreb, where the metropolitan see was now situated. A number of Orthodox priests distinguished themselves in organizing the Croatian Orthodox Church and the newspapers published the following announcement before Christmas 1942: “On the occasion of Christmas His Grace the Metropolitan of Zagreb and of all the Croatian Orthodox Church, the Most Rev. Germogen has decorated the following clergymen for their conscientious service to the Church and to the people: *Baton*: Archpriest Evgenij Jarlemski and Archpriest Aleksandar Volkovski; *Archpriest*: priests Vasilije Surlan, Serafim Kubcevski and Anatolije Paradijev; *Abbot*: priests Sevastijan Peric and Dositej Teodorovic and priors Amvrosije Veselinovic and Rafail Stanivukovic; *Pectoral Cross*: Abbot Miron Federer, archpriests Cvietin Sovic and Risto Babunovic; *Red Sash*: Archpriest Aleksej Borisov, priests Joca Cvijanovicc Vasilije Jurcenko, Pavie Kozarski, priors Vlasmin Pavlovski, Venjamin Radosavljevic, Mihaiev Milogradski, Dimitrije, Ivan Mrackovski, Evgenij Pogorecki, Petar Popov, Bogdan Popovic, Cvjetan Popovic, Nikolaj Semcenko, Petar Stefanovic, Sergije Selivanovski, Ljubomir Svrtilic and Emilijan Simatovic”. Spiridon Mifka, the former parish priest in Visoko, was appointed head of the eparchy of Sarajevo in August 1944. This shows that the assertion that the Croatian Orthodox Church was only an “Ustasha’s invention” which “consisted of only five or six Russian priests”has no foundation. It is clear that among the above listed prominent clergymen of the Croatian Orthodox Church there were Croats, Serbs, Russians, Ukrainians, Macedonians and Bulgarians, though mostly Orthodox Serbs and Croats, not to mention young priests and those of the lower hierarchic rank. Similarly, the conclusion by Dj. Kasic, in his work *Srbi ipravostavlje* (The Serbs and the Orthodoxy), that the activity of the “few” Orthodoxy priests in the formation of the Croatian Orthodox Church “was unsuccessful because the Serbs sensed the tendency and, to avoid persecutions, if they were changing their Church, they were more willing to change to the Roman Catholic faith than to join this artificial creation” is completely senseless, since it is well known that after the Croatian Orthodox Church was founded, there was not one conversion to Catholicism, and that a number of those who had changed their confession out of fear returned to the Orthodox faith inside the Croatian Orthodox Church which had been established and was functioning normally.

Conscientious historians will reach the conclusion that the founding of the Croatian Orthodox Church created conditions and an atmosphere in which first steps could be taken towards the reconciliation and reduction of Serb-Croat conflict, and excesses caused by the

irresponsible elements. Although the Croatian Orthodox Church was not directly involved in it, the agreement of peace and co-operation was signed between some Chetnik units and the military and civilian authorities of the Independent State of Croatia. After 1942 the civil war was waged mainly between the Partisan communist forces with a predominantly Yugoslav orientation on the one side, and the nationalist Croats, Serbs, etc., on the other. It should also be mentioned that in 1943 the *Dora Pukovnije* (Domobran labour regiments) were formed, one on the territory of each military district, into which primarily Orthodox Serbs were recruited and those Orthodox Croats from Srijem and Slavonija, who had not previously being called to military service The idea was gradually to create mutual trust between the Orthodox and non-Orthodox citizens, Croats and Serbs, in the military field.

I remained in the service of the Metropolitan Germogen as his secretary until the middle of 1944, when a misunderstanding arose between myself and a few of the Orthodox in Zagreb. To prevent conflict I decided to resign, and left for Backa, which was at that time ruled by Hungary. The end of the war found me in Novi Sad, where I was at first arrested, and later released, when I explained the religious and humanitarian motives which led me to partake in the founding of the Croatian Orthodox Church. Later I emigrated. Some prominent communists from Vojvodina, later to become high functionaries, and a minister who was imprisoned in 1941/42, all of whom owed their lives to the formation of the Croatian Orthodox Church, intervened on my behalf when I was arrested in 1945.

Metropolitan Germogen, already 85, did not retreat to the West at the end of the war when the Independent State of Croatia was abolished, and was arrested by the new Partisan authorities in May 1945, together with the Archpriest Aleksej Borisov. Both were executed. I believe that this was done by the Great Serbian fanatic, chauvinist and non-communist elements, as it can not be explained why true communists would be interested in religious hierarchical problems and in revenges of a religious nature. In my opinion a great mistake was made by the new authorities for allowing this crime to happen. Prominent priests of the Croatians Orthodox Church who did not succeed in escaping were subjected to heavy persecutions and almost all of them lost their lives.

From the history of the Croatian Orthodox Church, presented above, it is clear that the numerous articles which have dealt with this subject are wrong and untrue. For example, in the entry *Ustashas* in the *Yugoslav Encyclopaedia*, historian Ljubo Boban states; “The idea was to reduce the number of the Orthodox population by converting a part of that population to Catholicism. But the forcible conversions of Serbs to Catholicism brought no results, as the manipulation of the Croatian Orthodox Church, a creation of the Ustashas of April 1942, brought no results”. This uncritical and confused assertion by Boban, who is mixing religious and national notions, is unworthy of the historian he later became. He talks of reducing and converting to Catholicism the Orthodox population, although it is known that the aim of the Ustashas attack, in 1941, was not directed against the Orthodox faith (Ustashas were indifferent to it) but against the Serbs, primarily against the Great Serbs and only through them against Serbian Orthodoxy. Boban says that “the forcible catholicizing of Serbs” (now he talks about the Serbs and not about the Orthodox) and “the manipulation of the Croatian Orthodox Church gave no results”. If “catholicizing” (which in a majority of cases was not

forced but requested and accepted by some Serbs out of fear, in seeking for protection, or in a desire to equalise with the majority) did not succeed (which is true), then we can be grateful to the “manipulation” of the Croatian Orthodox Church and to its success, not failure, because when the Croatian Orthodox Church was founded the conversions to Catholicism instantly stopped, and a large majority of those who had changed their religion returned to the Orthodox faith within the Croatian Orthodox Church.

The commentary by the high ranking Ustasha functionary E. “Dido” Kvaternik about the Croatian Orthodox Church is tendentious and untrue when he says: “The Orthodox Church was established as the Croatian Orthodox Church with a pure anti-Catholic tendency. A Russian, not a Serb, was appointed its head. It was the Russo-Croatian Orthodox Church which did not appeal to the Serbs”. If Orthodoxy ever had a problem in Croatia it was during 1941, because of the conflict between the Ustashas and Chetniks. One of the leading exponents of the conflict was “Dido” Kvaternik on the Ustasha side. The formation of the Croatian Orthodox Church and its relationship with the Catholic Church in Croatia shows that the Croatian Orthodox Church was not established with “anti-Catholic tendencies”, neither was its intention to “attract” the Serbs. It was a solution to the problem of professing the Orthodox faith on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia for all the Orthodox Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Russians, Montenegrins, Macedonians, etc., since the activity of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Church of the neighbouring state of Serbia, was not allowed. The Croatian Orthodox Church was multi-national in the composition of its followers and hierarchy. A relatively moderate book by Pavle Ostovic also contains the following untruth: “Horrible cruelties were unleashed upon the innocent population, only for being Orthodox”. The best answer to P. Ostovic is given by his party leader, Dr. Vlatko Macek, in his book[28]: “The best proof that the Ustashas did not persecute the Serbs for religious reasons is that they themselves founded the Croatian Orthodox Church in 1942, headed by a Russian emigrant bishop”.

RETROSPECTIVE CONCLUSIONS

From a survey of the history of Orthodoxy among the Croats, as described above, it could be concluded that, following the split of Christianity, the Croats remained in the Western and the Serbs in the Eastern Church, and the present day Montenegrins (Dioclea, Zeta), partly in the Western and partly in the Eastern Church. With the expansion of the Serbian State during the rule of Nemanjics, the Catholics from the present day East Herzegovina and from Montenegro (ancient Red Croatia) were driven to a narrow stretch along the coast up to the Republic of Dubrovnik and to the Kotor- Montenegro Littoral.

The Turkish thrust into Croatia in the 15th century and the two hundred years of a war zone in the middle of Croatia, (Turkish Croatia)[29], resulted in a number of Croats converting to Islam, and in the settlement of the ravaged and abandoned lands of central Croatia by the Orthodox population from the Balkan hinterland, mainly by the migratory Vlachs, herdsmen and peasants, people of Roman origin. This was the reason why the Croatian lands, religiously and ethnically homogeneous prior to the Turkish invasion, became intermingled both religiously (Catholics, Orthodox, Muslim) and ethnically (Croats, Vlachs and various other Balkan nationalities).

With Serbians migrating north at the beginning of the 18th century (Srijem, Vojvodina and Southern Hungary) a large compact group of Serbs of Ekavian speech came to the Croatian territory, together with the retreating Serbian Orthodox Church (the metropolitan see of Karlovci) which in the course of the two following centuries succeeded in gaining hierarchical control over the Orthodox Vlachs and the Croats, and in the 19th century in the serbianization of the major part of them, simply by using the equation: Orthodox = Serb. In this way the religious mosaic in the central Croatian regions also became an ethnic mixture of Croats and Serbs. To this the modern Croatian nationalism of Starcevic responded by advocating the idea of Croats as a multi-religious nation of Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims. The identification with Orthodoxy prevented the Serbs from forming a multi-religious nation, while among the Croats there are Catholic Croats, Muslim Croats and Orthodox Croats, the latter being subordinated in religious matters to Serbian Orthodoxy.

The conflict between the modern Croatian and the modern Serbian nationalism originated in the mixed areas claimed by the (Great) Serbians, and by the Croats, on the basis of historical rights. In pre-war Yugoslavia the tension increased, resulting in Serbian domination of that state. With the foundation of the Independent State of Croatia in 1941 the conflict between the extreme nationalistic organisations, the Ustashas and the Chetniks, began in the mixed areas. In this conflict the irresponsible elements under the Chetnik or Ustasha banners started persecuting the minority groups and in the process all three denominations suffered – Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Islam. Since the government of the Independent State of Croatia did not recognize the Serbian Orthodox Church as it was a national Church of Serbs and of the neighbouring state of Serbia, Orthodoxy in Croatia was left without leadership in 1941. The problem was solved in 1942 by founding the Croatian Orthodox Church.

On the basis of the above analysis and from our personal participation in the events we conclude, taking into account all the difficulties, that the existence of the Croatian Orthodox Church, from 1942- 45, was positive for all the Orthodox Serbs, Croats and other nationalities on the territory of the Independent State of Croatia, from a religious and from a humanitarian standpoint. Also in reconciling and reducing the Croato-Serbian conflict caused by past mistakes and by the Ustasha/Chetnik conflict. In this way, after 1941, the conflict between them was reduced, and in some areas agreement was reached. For the Orthodox Serbs, the Croatian Orthodox Church offered a security and a temporary religious solution under an authoritarian regime which did not tolerate the Serbian Orthodox Church, a national Church of the Orthodox Croats the Church was a long desired but hitherto prevented solution for their dilemma: their Croatian national feelings and loyalty for their Croatian homeland on the one side, and the only Orthodox Church in Croatia, which was exclusively Serbian national, on the other.

It is to be regretted that, due to the short-sighted attitude of some Great Serbian chauvinists in Croatia, the abolition of the Croatian Orthodox Church was not prevented and the Church left to continue with a revised constitution (of course for those Orthodox who wanted to remain), in the first place for Croats of Orthodox faith, regardless of their number. This does not mean that a reestablished Serbian Orthodox Church could not have coexisted with the

Croatian Orthodox Church for the Orthodox of Serbian nationality, as full religious freedom means toleration and coexistence, not exclusiveness and monopoly of Churches.
It appears absurd, yet it should be mentioned, that a communist system was biased to such an extent regarding the existence of the Croatian Orthodox Church that it took a standpoint of militant intervention for the exclusiveness of the Serbian Orthodox Church, as the only Orthodox Church, on the territory inhabited by Croats and Serbs in Croatia and against the toleration and coexistence of various Orthodox Churches. This was later corrected with regard to the Macedonian Orthodox Church, but the idea of centralized Orthodoxy unfortunately still prevails in the rest of Yugoslavia. Anyone of the Orthodox faith who is neither a Serb nor a Macedonian, and that means a member of any other nationality in Yugoslavia (Slovene, Croat, Montenegrin, Albanian, Ukrainian, etc.) may profess his Orthodox faith only as a member of the Serbian Orthodox Church.
Past experience and present day events are teaching us that the delicate problems of religion and nationality should be solved while there is still time, not when they have erupted with full violence. The intolerant Great Serbian exclusivity by which all the Orthodox in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina are only Serbs, and the quixotic assertions, by some Croatian emigrant circles, that all the Orthodox in Croatia are only Croats, is not realistic. On the territory of these republics there are Orthodox Serbs as well as Orthodox Croats. The exact number will be known only when there is an atmosphere of full religious and national freedom.

CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE FUTURE

The history and development of Orthodoxy in Croatia, the recent troublesome and tragic experiences, the fate of the Croatian Orthodox Church and the still unresolved problem of freedom to confess the Orthodox faith in Croatia, frustrated by the exclusive territorial rights of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia, should be a reason for concern to all those who have responsibility, so that at critical moments in the future the same mistakes are not repeated. It is difficult to understand why the Serbian Orthodox Church holds firmly to its acquired rights in Croatia and prevents a normal development of free confession of the Orthodox faith and the existence of other Orthodox Churches. If an Orthodox Church for the Croats, for the non-Serbian Orthodox and for those Serbs who have freely joined it, would be small in number beside a big Serbian Church, then we can not see why there is a need for the Serbian Orthodox Church to be afraid, particularly if the Orthodox Church in Croatia does not claim exclusive territorial rights. There is a great need to establish an Orthodox Church in Croatia with a general non-Serbian character. That Church does not have to be a new edition of the Croatian Orthodox Church, founded in difficult war circumstances under an authoritarian regime, which was, to a certain extent, reflected in the set up of the Church. It could be founded either on the model of the Macedonian Orthodox Church i. e. through the territorial separation from the Serbian Orthodox Church; or as a new ecclesiastical unit next to the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia, formed simply on the basis and on the example of the separation between the church and state and the state constitution which guarantees freedom of confession. The first steps to be taken are a) the education of a new generation of priests in the Macedonian, or any other Orthodox Church, since the pre-world war

generation of Croatian Orthodox priests of the Greek-Eastern right are already dead, and the three years of activity of the Croatian Orthodox Church was unable to raise a large number of priests; b) setting up of a committee to found the new Church; c) finding a cathedral for establishing the Zagreb archdiocese; d) organization of an ecclesiastic national council to elect the archbishop and to draft the constitution, which would decide, among other things, the name of the new Church. Such a Church, like any other Orthodox Church, would not be monopolistic and would represent no danger to anyone, since the government would always have the last word with regard to those activities which were not of a religious nature, or were in conflict with the constitution.

NOTES

[1] Red Croatia: approximately the area of the Herzegovina and parts of Montenegro along the coast.

[2] Ijekavian-Stokavian: the Croatian language comprises three dialect groups distinguished by their respective words for “what?”: sto, ca and kaj. Hence the names of these dialects: Stokavian, Cakavian and Kajkavian. Another classification of Croatian dialects is made on the basis of the triple development of the Common Slavic sound “jat”: e, i, (i)je. Hence the names Ekavian, Ikavian and (I)jekavian. Whereas the Serbian literary language is stokavian and Ekavian, the Croatian literary language is Stokavian and (I)jekavian.

[3] Bosanska Krajina: the region between the rivers Una and Vrbas.

[4] Banska Hrvatska: the area that remained of Croatia following the Turkish invasion and the Venetian annexation of Dalmatia; under the jurisdiction of the ban (viceroy) and Sabor (the Croatian Diet).

[5] Vojna Krajina (Military Frontier): that region of Croatia forming a military defence zone established to contain Turkish raids; outside of ban’s jurisdiction.

[6] According to the census of 1971.

[7] Dalmatian or Byzantine Theme (province): the cities of Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor and the island of Krk, Osor (Cres and Losinj) and Rab, ruled by the Byzantium in the early Middle Ages.

[8] *Praveslavlje* (The Orthodoxy), *Encyclopaedia of the Lexicographical Institute*, Vol. 5, LZ, Zagreb, 1969.

[9] Dr. Ante Pavelic (1889-1959), founder of the nationalist Ustasha organization in 1931; leader of the Independent State of Croatia from April 1941 to May 1945.

[10] *Spomen-knjiga prve obijetnice Nezavisne Drzave Hrvatske 10. 4. 1941. – 10. 4. 1942.* (Book of Remembrance to commemorate the first anniversary of the Independent State of Croatia, 10 April 1941 to 10 April 1942), State Office for Information and Publicity, Zagreb, 1942.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Dr. Ante Starcevic (1823-1896), Croatian politician, founder of the Party of Rights.

[13] As footnote 10.

[14] As footnote 10.

[15] The existence of this circular is attested by the Archbishop Stepinac in his letter to Dr. Pavelic, dated 20th of November 1941, in which the circular of 30th of August 1941 is

mentioned and in which the Archbishop says: “You have yourself publicly denounced the atrocities committed by the individuals who called themselves Ustashas and whom you have ordered to be shot for their crimes. Your resolute stand to bring order and justice to the land deserves to be fully acknowledged”.

[16] As footnote 10.

[17] Croato-Hungarian personal union, also known as “Pacta Conventa”: an agreement from 1102 by which Croatia became an associated or autonomous kingdom under the suzerainty of the Hungarian crown.

[18] Eugen Kvaternik (1825-1871), Croatian politician; with Ante Starcevic co-founder of the Party of Rights; in 1871 attempted and unsuccessful uprising in Rakovica, Croatia.

[19] Stjepan Radic (1871-1928), Croatian politician; with his brother Ante co-founder of the Croatian Peasant Party in 1904; shot and mortally wounded in the Belgrade Parliament.

[20] Dr. Vlatko Macek (1879-1964), Croatian politician; Radic’s successor as leader of the Croatian Peasant Party; died in exile in the USA.

[21] Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, king of Yugoslavia; assassinated in Marseilles in 1934.

[22] As the Ustasha movement was not numerous before the foundation of the Independent State of Croatia, in many regions there were no organized Ustashas from pre-war times. If the Croatian Peasant Party was weak, or even non-existent, in certain areas of the new state, this allowed irresponsible elements to wear the Ustasha uniform and to declare themselves Ustashas. These undisciplined self-styled and self-appointed Ustashas were of a dubious character and Ustasha authorities named them “Wild Ustashas” or “Nastashas” and did all in their power to eliminate them, including executions for crimes.

[23] Dr. V. Macek in his book *In the Struggle for Freedom* says that the communists did not investigate the reasons why Catholic priests accepted converts, but persecuted them for that. “Notably in the case of a priest from Sarajevo who said to the Orthodox converts: ‘Children, your mother, the Orthodox Church, is in distress and is unable to take care of you. You came to the Catholic Church, your aunt, and when your mother has recovered you will return to her.’ As a reward the priest was sentenced to death after the war”.

[24] While at the explicit request of Dr. Macek, the vice-president of the Yugoslav government, Col. Ivan Prpic was promoted to the rank of a general, as the only Croat with that rank in the Yugoslav army before the war, the Orthodox officers held the highest positions in the Croatian Army during the war, including the three mentioned generals. Even among the Ustashas there were officers of the Orthodox faith, as for example Lieutenant Markovic.

[25] Hrvatsko Domobranstvo (Croatian Homedefence Force): the Croatian regular military force.

[26] I remember Fr. Glavas with great affection. It was clear from the outset that he was a very cultured and refined man (in addition to being a priest he was also a teacher and a literary critic). He sincerely wished to solve the problem of Orthodoxy in a correct way and to everyone’s satisfaction. He said that as the Catholic Church did not like state interference into ecclesiastical matters, so in the same way the state should not interfere with other confessions. It is to his credit, that the authorities were not involved, to a great extent, in the nominations for the Croatian Orthodox Church. Feeling no guilt he did not retreat in May

1945 but his name is on the first list of those executed by the Partisans in Zagreb.

[27] Jelic-Butic, F.: *Ustase i NDH, 1941-1945* (Ustashas and the Independent State of Croatia, 1941-1945), Liber and Skolska knjiga, Publishers, Zagreb, 1977.

[28] Macek, V.: *In the Struggle for Freedom*, Robert Speller and Sons, Publishers, New York, 1957.

[29] Turkish Croatia: north-western Bosnia between the Una and Vrbas rivers.